

TIME BOMB

*America's sinister new fascism—
Will it explode on schedule?*

*The lid blown off the plans, the powers,
the plotters in this spreading network
of disruption—*

BY E.A. PILLER

TIME BOMB

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A fiery cross throws its angry, lurid light across an American hillside . . . A crowd of American citizens gathers in an American street and roars anger at other Americans . . . A storekeeper here and another there finds his shop wrecked by hoodlums . . . A group of Americans, ordinarily peaceful folk with no idea of living in anything but peaceful union with other Americans, gathers in a hall and hears a "super-patriotic" orator tell it to suspect, to hate, to fight—not the avowed enemies of America—but other Americans. . . .

Are these isolated, unimportant incidents? Are they merely signs of general unrest? Or are they part of a pattern? Are they the elements of a time bomb planned to explode at the opportune moment—to divide America? To tear apart the fabric of a country which is too strong to be upset or conquered or controlled while it is united?

The crooked cross burned in Germany . . . Hoodlums stormed through German streets . . . Orators set German against German—until the country could find unity only in the slavery of fascism, and the road which led to war and destruction.

Can it happen here? If we shrug at "incidents"? If we choose the road of hatred, of disunity, of division? If we fail to guard against the forces of fascism that are seething under the surface of American life?

Are there forces in this country strong enough to divide us? What are they? And who controls them?

This book has the answers. It exposes for the first time the pattern of the forces which threaten our American way of life. It also discusses those who, without intention, endanger American unity and American democracy.

(Continued on back flap)

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E. A. PILLER

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

It is important to remember, in reading this book, that the fascists, the fringe-fascists and the disruptionists have made every effort to draw as many people and organizations as possible into their activity. Many people and organizations whose names appear in these pages are not fascists, nor are they enemies of the United States. But wittingly or unwittingly they did, where indicated as having done so here, play into the hands of the fascists within our borders. The inclusion of their names in these pages does not infer that they deliberately harmed the welfare of America or American democracy.

This book is complete and unabridged, and is manufactured in strict conformity with government regulations for saving paper

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THE ELEMENTS OF THE BOMB

AMERICA, for years now, has presented to the world a strong united front. The people of America have been busy winning, or helping to win, what most of us hope will be its last war. Certainly most of us know that it must be the last major effort of this kind in which Americans engage. Most of us. Not, by any means, all of us.

Before America engaged in this war—and while most Americans were united in preparing to win this war, great numbers of its citizens were in league with some non-citizens and outright enemies of America in fighting another war.

Their energies and their resources were greater than most Americans dared to believe. Their war was not fought for America but for themselves. It took many forms. It was fought on many secret fronts. It was fought against many different sections of American life. Sometimes it was a battle against American labor. Sometimes it was a battle against American Negroes. Sometimes it was against American Catholics. Through it ran the thread of a battle against American Jews. But, on whatever front, it was a battle to tear to ribbons the pattern of American life.

For what? For whom? Primarily, all wars are fought

for power, for money or for control, which brings power and money. Some captains of this inner warfare in America wanted no more than greater control over the people who worked for them. Their fight was against labor. Some of them wanted nothing less than mastery of the country. A gigantic dream, but they had seen it work in Italy, in Germany; they had seen it work nearer home, in South America, in Argentina. All the steps had been revealed to them. The technique was established. They applied the technique here. The worst of them published newspapers to which the term "hate sheet" has now been applied. Hate sheets are aimed at segregating and denouncing minorities, for the first step is to turn group against group.

Some of them published more circumspect literature. This was aimed against labor. For the next step is to turn class against class. Some were even more subtle, and found fault with nothing except the trend of government. For the last step is to turn the people against the government.

As time went on, as they learned to master the techniques, they also learned to work together. Each of them became a specialist in his field. Each of them learned his task well, and while many of them had little in common except their desire for power or their interest in changing America as we know it, all of them soon learned that they could work best if they leagued together against our kind of America.

When war came, some of them were stunned. Some went underground. Some—the outright aliens and spies—were deported or jailed. But most of them continued to work, and are working now. Most of them are planning now for success soon after the war's end. And, as the final victory becomes more and more certain they draw together, hoping and expecting that some postwar split in American unity will give them the chances they worked for, planned for and now await.

Separately, some of them are inconsequential. Separately, too, some are not even fascists; just reactionary citizens who unwittingly play into the hands of, or are "taken in" by fascists. Separately, some of them seem to be seeking harmless ends. Together, they comprise the greatest menace in this

country since the rise of fascism in the world—for together they represent a cancer-like danger to a democratic America.

Separately, Americans do not always recognize their work. But the pattern of their work does not merge on the surface. Their efforts merge, as this book will show, on lower levels. For example, the reactionary (though not fascist) Committee for Constitutional Government, which operates almost exclusively in the field of "education" by bombarding a large section of the American people with books, pamphlets, radio programs and other means of propaganda, has seemingly only one aim—to "educate" the American people against the dangers of State control, of too much power in the hands of the Federal government, of "Stateism."

But the Committee for Constitutional Government is ideologically linked with such organizations as The Christian American which, as a later chapter will elaborate, is "out to get" unions, and which in turn has ideological links with Klandom, which disseminates the lower class hate propaganda.

The "educational" Committee for Constitutional Government is linked with another polished organization called Spiritual Mobilization, Inc. which once attempted to recruit its followers through such a hate sheet as *The Defender*, published by the notorious Gerald Winrod, a defendant in the so-called Washington Sedition Trials of 1945.

Group after group, linked one with the other, works upon different segments of the American people, sometimes using each other's propaganda, sometimes seeming to be following different policies. But, unknown to most of America, they work together. Together they await the day when they can explode into a national force which they hope will throw the country into their hands. Together, they represent a time bomb, with explosive charges carefully set throughout all America—ready to be ignited—to explode when disrupters think the moment is right, when they think America is weaker, when they think they have undermined American unity sufficiently.

Their pattern for conquest crisscrosses the country. It winds in and out to return upon itself. There is only one way

to look at it, one way to get the complete picture. That is to examine it section by section, tracing each deadly charge to its point of origin, and each individual to his base of operations. The subsequent chapters trace this pattern and expose the individuals.

In these pages many of these individuals will be identified by the simple general term of "fascist" where the facts presented indicate they are of such stripe.

"Fascist" is a label some of them openly adopt. It is a label many of them squirm to avoid, denounce in outrage, or try to explain away with confusing statements in elegant language.

One of the dangers to America is that most Americans, too, resist the use of this label. Most Americans do not recognize an American "fascist" when they speak to him, when they read his pamphlets, when they listen to his propaganda.

Most American writers hesitate to denounce fellow citizens as fascists. That, too, is part of the fascists' strength. Therein lies a great measure of their danger. Until they are named and denounced, they have more freedom to work.

This book will name fascists as fascists but, in a sincere effort to avoid mere name calling, let us define the kind of person we mean.

Perhaps the best and the most objective definition of fascism has come from the U. S. War Department in a statement issued for the guidance of members of the armed services. The following quotations are from that statement, issued on March 24th, 1945:

"If we don't understand fascism and recognize fascism when we see it," the War Department statement reads, "it might crop up again—under another label—and cause another war.

"Fascism is government by the few and for the few. The objective is seizure and control of the economic, political, social and cultural life of the state. Why? The democratic way of life interferes with their methods and desire for: (1) conducting business; (2) living with their fellow-men; (3) having the final say in matters concerning others as well as themselves. The

basic principles of democracy stand in the way of their desires; hence—democracy must go! Anyone who is not a member of their inner gang has to do what he's told. They permit no civil liberties, no equality before the law . . . They maintain themselves in power by use of force combined with propaganda based on primitive ideas of 'blood' and 'race,' by skillful manipulation of fear and hate and by false promise of security."

Further in the statement the War Department gives:

"THREE WAYS TO SPOT U. S. FASCISTS"

"Fascists in America may differ slightly from fascists in other countries, but there are a number of attitudes and practices that they have in common. Following are three. Every person who has one of them is not necessarily a fascist. But he is in a mental state that lends itself to the acceptance of fascist aims.

"1. Pitting of religious, racial, and economic groups against one another in order to break down national unity is a device of the 'divide and conquer' technique used by Hitler to gain power in Germany and in other countries. With slight variations, to suit local conditions, fascists everywhere have used this Hitler method. In many countries, anti-Semitism (hatred of Jews) is a dominant device of fascism. In the United States, native fascists have often been anti-Catholic, anti-Jew, anti-Negro, anti-Labor, anti-foreign-born. In South America, the native fascists use the same scapegoats except that they substitute anti-Protestantism for anti-Catholicism.

"Interwoven with the 'master race' theory of fascism is a well-planned 'hate campaign' against minority races, religions, and other groups. To suit their particular needs and aims, fascists will use any one or a combination of such groups as a convenient scapegoat.

"2. Fascism cannot tolerate such religious and ethical concepts as the 'brotherhood of man.' Fascists deny the need for international cooperation. These ideas contradict the fascist theory of the 'master race.' The brotherhood of man implies that all people—regardless of color, race, creed, or nationality—have rights. International cooperation, as expressed in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, runs counter to the fascist program of war and world domination. . . . Right now our native

fascists are spreading anti-British, anti-Soviet, anti-French, and anti-United Nations propaganda . . .

"3. It is accurate to call a member of a communist party a 'communist.' For short, he is often called a 'Red.' Indiscriminate pinning of the label 'Red' on people and proposals which one opposes is a common political device. It is a favorite trick of native as well as foreign fascists.

"Many fascists make the spurious claim that the world has but two choices—either fascism or communism, and they label as 'communist' everyone who refuses to support them. By attacking our free enterprise, capitalist democracy, and by denying the effectiveness of our way of life they hope to trap many people."

The fight against labor is also part of the fascist technique. Here is what the War Department says about this:

"WHY FASCISTS ARE ANTI-UNION"

"Deprived of their unions, the working people could be driven to work longer and harder for less and less money, so that those who subsidized and ran fascism could grow richer. By wiping out all internal competition—especially the small and medium-sized business firms—profits were increased still higher for the handful on top. In some cases, the fascists then gobbled control of the top corporations. The living standards of the masses of the people declined, of course. As they earned less and less, they were able to buy less and less of the goods they produced . . .

"Once the fascists were in control of the government, not even the gang on top was safe from its own members. There would be more loot and power per fascist leader if some fascist leaders were eliminated. Some of the party 'big-shots' and some of those who had helped them take over were therefore 'purged.' Many would-be partners in the dictatorship, including some industrialists, wound up in jail, in exile, or dead."

These are the techniques American fascists have learned. These are the techniques they use. These are the techniques by which they hope to explode their time bomb. Only by calling them what they are, only by naming them and knowing them and routing them out can America protect itself.

And only by recognizing their strength and the extent of their influence can the protective measures be taken swiftly and sternly enough.

The fact which escapes most Americans is that fascism is not beaten. We have defeated it in open battle. We have beaten its armies—but we have not beaten the idea, we have not defeated *all* the fascists, nor all the people who would like to see fascism dominant in our own country.

Unless we defeat them, they may defeat us. And they can easily grow strong enough to do it. It has been estimated by Dr. L. M. Birkhead, an outstanding authority on the subject, that some sort of fascist propaganda has been, in the past few years, placed in the hands of at least one American out of every three.

Since that estimate was made, fascist literature has continued to pour off presses, to be spread throughout the land.

To be sure, the fascists have not had a free hand during wartime. They have been held back to some extent by public opinion, to a greater extent by fear of prosecution.

But they haven't given up. And right now, today, they exert an influence over millions of Americans. Some of them have followers numbering tens of thousands.

It is not possible in this book to give membership figures. Some fascist outfits claim more than they actually have, some, fearful of public opinion, claim less.

Then, there are the fringe groups—not fascist, but with fascist leanings which might easily be swung into the out-right fascist columns. All are dangerous and all are numerous.

Our defense against them is to name their leaders and reveal their true purposes. This book does that. The rest is up to the people of America and to the force of public opinion.

THE STRANGE ALLIANCES

WHEN war came to America some of the fascists operating in the United States ran to cover. Some were indicted, convicted and jailed; some were indicted but not convicted for various reasons; some continued, and do continue, their work underground. Some are merely biding their time, organizing seemingly harmless groups, waiting until they can bring them out into the open once more.

Many of the outright fascists are now known to us. This book will name many more who have not yet been revealed and identified in America. But apart from these are other groups who compose one of the strangest and most dangerous alliances America ever faced within its own borders.

These are organizations whose outward forms, appeals and programs are not outright fascist. But they, or their leaders or supporters, or, in some cases, all three, are linked with, often meet and work with, the most peculiar groups and individuals in American life. How shall we classify these? How shall we assay their impact upon, or even their danger to, American democracy? How shall we gauge where mere dissidence ends and fascism begins?

Before we deal with actual fascists, let us examine three phenomena—and try to judge for ourselves where their objectives fit into the pattern which today endangers American democracy.

Connections of the Committee for Constitutional Government

Let us first consider the now fairly well-known reactionary Committee for Constitutional Government, and the various offshoot or outgrowth committees which it so prodigally spawns. The Committee for Constitutional Government was organized in 1937 by Frank Gannett, reactionary publisher of a string of small town newspapers.

Mr. Gannett and his aides have persistently maintained that the Committee is an educational organization. Senator Wright Patman branded it as “the most sinister lobby ever formed.”

Who is right?

If we examine the educational activities of the Committee we find that since its founding it has performed the tremendous task of distributing or helping to distribute 82 million pieces of literature, booklets, pamphlets, reprints of editorials and articles, and especially-addressed letters to specific groups. It has distributed more than 760,000 books, more than 10,000 transcriptions of 15-minute radio talks on national issues, besides sponsoring frequent national hook-ups for representatives of the committee. It has sent more than 350,000 telegrams to citizens, attempting to influence their action on national issues. It has sent countless thousands of releases to daily and weekly newspapers and has run full page advertisements in 536 newspapers with a combined circulation of nearly 20 million.

All of this activity was against labor, against the New Deal, against social welfare legislation.

The leaders of the Committee for Constitutional Govern-

ment are: Frank Gannett, Dr. Edward A. Rumely, Sumner Gerard, Treasurer, and the Rev. Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, Chairman. Among the members of the Advisory Board are: Samuel Pettingill, Senator Edward H. Moore, S. S. McClure, ex-Senator Edward R. Burke,

Dr. Edward A. Rumely last appeared in *Who's Who in America* in the 1918-1919 edition. According to the biographical material there, he was born on February 28, 1882, in La Porte, Indiana. He was educated at Notre Dame University and from there went to Germany where he studied at the University of Freiburg, graduating in 1906 with a degree equivalent to Doctor of Medicine. In *Who's Who* Dr. Rumely listed himself as a manufacturer and educator, but actually his major activity was newspaper publishing. He had purchased the old New York *Evening Mail*, "fulfilling an old ambition of his," according to a publication of the Committee for Constitutional Government, which gives Rumely's background.

However, when Rumely appeared before the Minton Committee of the Senate in 1938 and was re-questioned about this, he said that he had made the purchase because "there was a great deal of resentment against the biased reports that were coming [from Europe] and that bias I had recognized was due to absence of a news flow from the Central Powers." A stock broker named Walter Lyons of the firm of Rennskorff and Lyons had introduced Rumely to Dr. Heinrich Albert, a German financial agent. Dr. Albert encouraged Rumely to purchase the *Evening Mail*, and somehow, with \$1,301,700 transmitted to this country through German diplomatic channels, the sale of the paper to Rumely was completed.

Rumely had been indicted in 1918 for violation of the Trading With The Enemy Act, and sentenced to a year and a day in prison for this offense. Later, when Coolidge became president, Rumely was completely pardoned after serving 30 days in jail.

Rumely then dropped from public attention until 1933 when he appeared as executive secretary of the Committee for the Nation. This committee was organized by James H. Rand, Jr., president of Remington-Rand, Inc. Its headquarters

were at 205 E. 42nd Street, New York, which is the present address of the Committee for Constitutional Government. The general program of the Committee for the Nation seemed to be to sponsor inflationary measures. Robert Harriss, a member of the committee, conferred with Father Coughlin on October 23, 1932. Father Coughlin, on the air and in *Social Justice*, engaged in a campaign for monetary inflation.

The Committee for the Nation was short-lived, but Rumely again turned up as a committee-man when he began working for Gannett's committee.

Ex-Senator Edward R. Burke of Nebraska is an active member of the Committee for Constitutional Government and other Gannett political projects. He was among those who attended the first conference of the group, headed by Harry Woodring, which met in Chicago in February, 1943 to form the American Democratic National Committee. Another organizer of this group was William Goodwin, who became National Treasurer. Mr. Goodwin is a friend of Father Edward Lodge Curran (a leader of the Coughlinites in the East), and at one time also had his own party, the American Rock Party, composed of Coughlin followers. He is the man who once told John Roy Carlson, "There is nothing wrong with fascism. Hitler has done a good job in Germany."

Burke himself was an active member of the Khaki Shirts of America during the short period of its existence from 1932 to 1933. For three months he paid rent for the Omaha headquarters of this semi-fascist outfit, one of whose organizers was "Major" L. I. Powell, a former aide of William Dudley Pelley, leader of the Silver Shirts. (Dies Committee Report Vol. III, P. 2348.) Later, the Khaki Shirts group ran into trouble and changed its name to American Nationalists.

In 1938 Burke returned from a trip to Germany. The *New York Herald Tribune*, in reporting the story, used this headline: "Senator Burke praises Hitler and Nazi's rule as he returns."

The *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, official organ of the German-American Bund reported in its issue of October 6, 1938:

"SENATOR BURKE PRAISES HITLER AND HITLER'S RULE—LEGISLATOR RETURNING FROM ABROAD TO STUDY LABOR CONDITIONS THINKS CHANCELLOR GREATER THAN BISMARCK"

(New York Herald Tribune)

"Senator Edward R. Burke, Democrat, of Nebraska, who is a vigorous foe of the national labor relations act, returned last night on the United States Line Manhattan from a seven-week unofficial study of labor conditions in England, Germany and other Continental countries. He praised without stint the accomplishments of the Nazi regime in Germany. He saw Chancellor Adolf Hitler as even 'a greater man than Bismarck.'"

The Committee itself, and its various splinter committees, work on a somewhat subtler level, though the Committee to Uphold the Constitution (forerunner of the CCG) did not balk at enlisting the services of Coughlin in one of its campaigns, according to Representative Keller, who said on July 27, 1939:

"... There is a man who walks the halls of the Capitol building by the name of Alfred Davies, an employee of Frank Gannett, the notorious tory publisher. Mr. Davies is the Washington representative of the National Committee to Uphold the Constitution. He boasts that he and Frank Gannett 'are the Committee.'

"He (Davies) further stated that they were trying to get Father Coughlin to speak against the bill (the lend-lease bill) this coming Sunday."

On July 31, 1939 Father Coughlin's *Social Justice* carried an article entitled "Lend-Lease Spree Means Bankruptcy."

Through its various offshoots the committee also has connections with other less subtle groups. Samuel Pettingill, who succeeded Gannett as Chairman of the Committee in 1940, toured the United States as late as 1941 speaking for the America First Committee. In 1943, Pettingill, addressing the Chicago Rotary Club said, "If I were asked today I would say that inflation is our No. 1 enemy, not Hitler." With or

without his permission, Pettingill is extensively quoted in such un-American sheets as *Social Justice*, *America Preferred*, *Beacon Light*, *X-Ray*, *The Defender* and *Roll Call*.

In March, 1944, a leaflet signed by Pettingill was distributed by America's Future, Inc., the organization in whose name certain sponsors of the Committee for Constitutional Government printed and distributed such literature as *Smoke Screen*, *The Right to Work*, etc. (*The Right to Work* theory is the basis of the anti-labor bill which The Christian American (see Chapter III) and Senator W. Lee "Pappy" O'Daniel have now succeeded in getting through 11 legislatures in the south.) The leaflet purported to be a "true conversation" with a Negro maid in a Detroit hotel. Its purpose, obviously, was to smear the late President Roosevelt and to show that "Roosevelt relief" was a vote-catching device. To quote from it:

"Me an' my husband has always been on Mr. Roosevelt's relief and Mr. Roosevelt wants us folks to work durin' the wah. DEN HE PUTS FOLKS ON RELIEF FOR KEEPS. Dat's all we have to do, jus' vote for Mr. Roosevelt and all those same kind of Democrats Mr. Roosevelt is . . ."

Q. "Was there enough money to get a drink of gin, now and then?"

A. ". . . Mr. Roosevelt brought likker back and he says it's alright for us to have a dollah or two a week out of our relief money for likker and beer . . ."

(The Newspaper PM, 4-7-44)

In September, 1943, when rationing and the restriction of food supplies made it easy to play upon the public's fear of scarcity and famine, Frank Gannett called a Food Conference in Chicago. The conference urged legislation which would do away with government control of farm prices and farms, and asked for prices set at market value and the abolition of subsidies. The weapon employed by the conference was the cry that famine threatened. Conspicuously present were Senator Harlan J. Bushfield of the powerful Senate Food Committee, bitter New-Deal foe; Senators Thomas, Brooks and O'Daniel (O'Daniel called for legislation

forbidding unions the closed shop demand); Robert M. Harris, Father Coughlin's financial advisor; and Wheeler McMillan, editor of the powerful Joseph M. Pew's *Farm Journal*. An outstanding feature of the conference was a statement by Senator Bushfield which was tantamount to an implied approval of black markets and inflation.

In September, 1944, the Committee for Constitutional Government was summoned before the House Campaign Expense Committee, which requested a list of the Committee's contributors. It was refused. Chairman Anderson thereupon issued a subpoena for the records, observing, "We found that \$112,000 was raised in one state and that one man got \$10,000 for soliciting it. If this marks a trend it becomes a matter of public interest to investigate it." (*Wash. Daily News*, 9-20-44.)

But it is obvious from the scope of its activities and the gigantic size of its mailings that the CCG has sizeable resources. And when special occasions have spurred them, members of the committee have found it possible to contribute to and help to obtain contributions to other causes. In 1944, the Rev. Norman Vincent Peale of the CCG helped to organize, in Pawling, N. Y., a group called Guideposts Associates, Inc. This was nothing more than a political organization which favored Thomas E. Dewey and wanted to defeat Roosevelt. Prominent members of the "confidential advisory board" were Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, Frank Gannett, Branch Rickey, Lowell Thomas, Joe Pew, Walter C. Teagle and the Rev. Dr. James W. Fiffeld (Founder and Director of Spiritual Mobilization, an allied Gannett CCG group which operates on a religious level, enlisting the support of ministers and other moral leaders to "fight Stateism").

The first leaflet published by Guideposts Associates was an attack on the Political Action Committee of the C.I.O., charging that "Communist minded propagandists possess the largest budget for ideological agitation ever assembled."

To fight this, Guideposts Associates asked a selected group of individuals for \$100,000 as an initial contribution. In his confidential memorandum and invitation, sent to a selected list of clergymen and laymen, enlisting support and funds,

Dr. Peale stated that he and Gannett (among others) had each contributed \$1,000.

Such allied drives have, of course, a purpose. The purpose may be exclusively political, as that of Guideposts Associates or the Committee for Constitutional Government itself. It may be to hinder the extension of progressive legislation, or on the other hand to obtain a financial plum for the big-money group. Examples of the two last-named activities are: The National Physicians Committee and the CCG fight for the "22nd or new income tax amendment."

The National Physicians Committee was organized in 1939. It has a board of trustees composed entirely of doctors and its executive director is John M. Pratt, a Gannett associate. Pratt was formerly director of the Physicians for Free Enterprise, which was dissolved in 1939 when a number of stormy incidents occurred. One of these was at a meeting when Dr. Bernard Denzer told his colleagues what he knew about Rumely, connected the group to Gannett and exposed its political aspects.

The National Physicians Committee has been primarily engaged up to this writing in attacking the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill which it consistently misinterprets. A significant commentary on NPC is taken from the conservative Westchester, N. Y., *Medical Bulletin*, which, in an editorial entitled "Plain Talk on the NPC," published in the spring of 1944, stated:

"Together with most of our lay friends, we find in the genesis and tactics of the NPC a cynical element of pretense and trickery which is offensive to the intelligent citizen and does the utmost to discredit the ideals traditional to our profession."

The example of financial plum gathering is the amendment sponsored by the CCG to limit taxes on inheritance, gifts and income to 25 per cent. Already 16 states have passed the resolutions necessary to pave the way for a federal constitutional amendment to establish this curious taxing idea. Obviously the passage of this "millionaire" amendment would

save the wealthy huge sums in taxes—and make it necessary for the less fortunate either to pay higher taxes or to see the government stripped of its ability to serve them as effectively as it has been serving. On May 11, 1944, Representative Wright Patman warned in Congress that if the 25 per cent tax limit is adopted the wealth of the country would be concentrated in the hands of a few and “we won’t be able to take care of our veterans or their widows and children.” He also claimed the proponents of the amendment were “a fascist group.”

Whether or not Representative Patman is right is difficult to judge. The so-called “Gannett committees,” and especially the Committee for Constitutional Government operate on a comparatively high political level and with strong financial backing. Their literature and activities are reactionary and disruptive but not outright subversive.

Yet we must remember that in every country where fascism has succeeded there has been a group of suave, wealthy reactionary “respectables” which has been anti-labor, which has condemned progressive movements as “red” and “communist,” which has shadow-boxed the “red menace” as a means of protecting its own vested interests and tearing down the strength of labor and other common people’s movements.

And in every country where fascism wrested power, entrenched reaction has had contact with, and allies in, the more outspoken camp of outright fascists. The time has come for us in America to recognize the danger of such alliances. It matters little which group uses the other, which *thinks* it uses the other. The menace is that, at many points, they have common objectives, which endanger American democracy.

Now let us look at other of the phenomena and at some of the strange alliances in America—and judge the danger.

The Involvements of Edward Lodge Curran

In Brooklyn, New York, Edward Lodge Curran is energetically active in a number of causes. He was ordained a priest in the Roman Catholic Church in 1922 but he does not

confine himself to religious matters. Father Curran has proven himself to be a vigorous and sometimes powerful influence in other directions.

After ordination, Father Curran became a professor at Cathedral College, Brooklyn, where he remained until 1932. In 1933 he became a parish priest at St. Stephen's Church in Brooklyn and on June 27, 1941, transferred to St. Joseph's Church, Pacific Street, between Dean and Vanderbilt Avenues, where he remains today.

At St. Joseph's Curran succeeded Father Francis Joseph Healy. Healy had been editor of the diocesan weekly, *The Tablet*, which supported Father Coughlin, the Christian Front, isolationist and anti-war leaders. He was the brother of ex-Judge Leo Healy, lawyer for the seventeen Christian Front members who were once placed on trial for allegedly plotting to overthrow the government. Father Healy died in December, 1940. No pastor was appointed until June, 1941, when Father Curran succeeded him.

Earlier, in 1932, Curran had become president of the International Catholic Truth Society, an old Catholic organization. Under his presidency it has distributed hundreds of thousands of anti-war pamphlets and booklets. The Society also publishes a monthly magazine, *Light*, of which Father Curran is the editor.

Father Curran's journalistic activities branch out to include the writing of a weekly column, *By The Way* for the *Gaelic American* of New York City, a publication which has been an ardent follower of Father Coughlin. The column appears, too, in *The Leader*, another weekly published in San Francisco, which has also followed the Coughlin line. And Father Curran has written on several occasions for Coughlin's *Social Justice*, which was charged by the Post Office with being "obviously seditious."

He is an energetic and persuasive speaker, capable of rabble-rousing in the best tradition and with a flair for capturing meetings. Often before speaking he will strut down the center of the aisle, flanked by important-looking individuals, obviously pleased with the adulation of the crowd.

When addressing meetings he usually begins with a quip about the Irish "race," a reference to George Washington, and then he plunges into his real and earnest diatribe against whatever is his subject for attack that night.

Curran's activities in the field of propaganda began soon after the Spanish Civil War broke out in the summer of 1936. He carried on an active campaign in behalf of General Franco and against the "communist menace" of the Spanish Republican Government. In that year, he published a small pamphlet, *Spain in Arms*, through the International Catholic Truth Society. Parts of this pamphlet were reprinted in a report, Part III, published by "Orville Brisbane Good, Lecturer, U.S.A.-Europe." Part I of this report, "The Truth About Spain," had been printed by the official Nazi propaganda agency, *Welt Dienst* (World Service) in Erfurt, Germany, and distributed throughout the world. In 1938 Curran wrote another pro-Franco article for *Social Justice*, and later in the same year a similar article, defending Franco, for the one-shot publication, *The Patriot Digest*, which also published articles by such obvious fascists as Gerald Winrod and a Canadian, Adrian Arcand, interned by the Canadian government when that country went to war.

On January 19, 1939, Curran wrote to Merwin K. Hart, another notorious Franco-phile, and expressed agreement that another meeting in support of Franco Spain should be held by the "American Union for Nationalist Spain." A month later Curran was a member of the General Committee, which held a "Pro-American Mass Meeting" at the Seventh Regiment Armory, New York, at which the official Franco film, *Spain In Arms* was shown for the first time in that city. Allen Zoll, prominently aligned with the Christian Front and an organizer of the American Patriots, was under-cover organizer of the meeting. Other members of the organizing committee were Patrick Scanlon, Managing Editor of the *Brooklyn Tablet*, John Eoghan Kelly, convicted in 1943 as an unregistered agent of Franco Spain, and Joseph Kamp, of the Constitutional Educational League, which we shall examine later.

Curran's activities on behalf of Franco then began to lead

him deeper into the morass of native reaction.

On October 30, 1938, he was one of the two main speakers at a "Pro-American" rally held at the Biltmore Hotel, New York City, the purpose of which was to endorse a resolution urging Congress to appropriate more funds for the Dies Committee. The other principal speaker was Elizabeth Dilling, author of *Red Network*, leader of "Momism" groups and one of the group named in the indictments for alleged seditious conspiracy handed down by a Federal Grand Jury in Washington, D. C.

This meeting, too, was organized by Allen Zoll, under the auspices of The American Patriots and the participating groups and individuals were:

American Patriots, Inc.	Allen Zoll
American Women Against Communism	Mrs. Cressy Morrison
International Catholic Truth Society	Edward Lodge Curran
N. Y. State Economic Council	Merwin K. Hart
Patriotic Research Bureau	Elizabeth Dilling
Protestant War Veterans	Edward James Smythe

The International Catholic Truth Society was undoubtedly drawn into this meeting by Father Curran. The other organizations were notorious for their disruptionist activities. The meeting was advertised in the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, official German-American Bund paper in the United States.

Shortly after this meeting, Father Curran addressed another mass meeting (in December, 1938) at the Manhattan Opera House to protest against the "conspiracy" to keep Father Coughlin off the air. This time he shared the platform with Major General George Van Horn Mosely, the man who was selected to lead the fascist march on Washington at a conference attended by such fascists as William Dudley Pelley, James True, and George Deatherage in Asheville, North Carolina, in 1936.

This period marked perhaps the high-water mark of Curran's activities or association with clearly revealed groups. In 1939, when the Dies committee was investigating un-American activities, the following letter from Silver-Shirter

George Deatherage to James Campbell, who was Mrs. Leslie Fry's assistant, was introduced into the records. Mrs. Fry and Deatherage were working then for the union of American fascist groups under one leadership. Mrs. Fry, who was strongly pro-German, operated from Southern California.

"Dec. 14, 1938. Dear Jim . . . The mass reaction will follow the leader when they are hurt bad enough. Now, we must have State and county leaders all over the Nation that we know without a shadow of a doubt, are men who will stick under any kind of fire. . . . You will note from the General's speech (Mosely), a copy of which was sent you, that the plan is to do this job peacefully, and by force if it becomes necessary. . . . He does not yet quite realize the tremendous force against him, but after his speech in New York on the same platform with Father Coughlin, he will be attacked from every quarter, this alone showing him the strength of the enemy. . . . Right after the first of the year it is the intention to call a small conference, say about 25, in some place such as Chicago, quietly, and discuss the matter of what we are going to do about this thing. These will not be organization leaders, but leaders of the main groups throughout the Nation—Father Coughlin, Winrod, Lodge Curran, John Frey of the AFL, Homer Chaillaux of the Legion, as well as other veteran leaders . . . men who are heads of large groups on our side of the fence. . . ."

(Dies Committee Reports, Vol. V, pp. 3277-79)

In a release dated April 10, 1939, the Paul Revere Sentinels, a rabidly anti-Semitic, anti-war group operating in New York City, released the news that a delegation had gone to Washington, D. C. to appear before the Senate and House Foreign Relations Committees to demand the passage of a "real" neutrality law. Listed among the members of the delegation were:

Edward Lodge Curran
George U. Harvey
John Cecil
Herbert A. O'Brien
William A. Goodwin

This is the same Goodwin who was, in 1944, to become National Treasurer of the American Democratic National Committee, already discussed as a reactionary outfit with many points of contact with the Gannett Committee for Constitutional Government. This is the same Goodwin who ran for Congress on the Social Justice Ticket in 1936, who ran for Mayor of New York in 1941, backed by his own American Rock Party, and who spoke from the same platform then with Bernard D'Arcy, the New York distributor of Coughlin's *Social Justice*.

In November, 1939, Curran went to Pawtucket, R. I., to speak at a Christian Front meeting organized by Francis Moran, who was the Christian Front leader for the Boston area and one of the most outspoken anti-Semites in that part of the country. Moran was also a distributor of the notorious Flanders Hall books (Flanders Hall was the publishing outfit sponsored and financed by George Sylvester Vierick, convicted Nazi agent) and a collaborator with Deatherage, Pelley, Dilling and Edmondson (all defendants in the Washington trials for alleged sedition).*

In January, 1940, seventeen members of the Christian Front were indicted and placed on trial for allegedly plotting to overthrow the government of the United States. Immediately Front forces swung into action and organized a "Parents' Defense Fund Committee" to collect money and hold rallies on behalf of the defendants. At a monster rally held on March 1, 1940, at Prospect Hall, Brooklyn, to raise money for defense expenses, Bernard T. D'Arcy presided and Curran was one of the keynote speakers. In a pre-meeting press statement, Curran decried "trial by newspapers" and declared that he was

"... happy to accept the invitation . . . in this attempt to secure funds so that justice may be done. I only hope that my words may succeed in enabling the . . . Committee to secure the full amount necessary for the cause of justice. The sympathy and the prayers of every fair-minded American citizen should go out to

* The Nation, 3-31-32. Pg. 334.

the parents and loved ones of these defendants in their hour of suffering." (*The Brooklyn Tablet*, 3/2/40)

During the summer of that year most of the seventeen indicted were dismissed whereupon Curran wrote to Attorney General Jackson demanding an investigation into the trial and asking who "tricked" the Department of Justice into the proceedings. When, later, the remainder of the indictees were dismissed, the Parents' Defense Fund Committee held a "victory rally" on February 2, 1941, at the Columbus Club, Brooklyn. Again D'Arcy presided. Nine of the defendants, including John Cassidy, National Director of the Christian Front, sat on the platform while Curran and ex-Judge Healy, defense lawyer, spoke.

Following the Front trial, both Frontist and Coughlinite activities either went underground or switched over to the intensive anti-war campaign which was then urging the country not to fight the European fascists. Curran also began to speak against war and foreign entanglements but continued, too, his defense of Coughlin.

When the mailing privileges of *Social Justice* were under fire, and Coughlin had to stop publishing to prevent further investigation, Curran sent the following telegram to Coughlin on April 28, 1942:

"As a fellow-priest and a fellow-American I assure you of a constant remembrance in my Masses and prayers during these trying days. May God bless you."
(*Gaelic American*, 5-2-42)

In his anti-war campaign, Curran was inevitably drawn into America First activity and during the six months prior to Pearl Harbor made frequent speeches attacking Russia, England and the late President Roosevelt. The most inept was one delivered in Jersey City at a Pro-American Rally of the Civic Educational Council on October 27, 1941 in which he said:

"Arousing fear is the method dictators use to get complete power over their country—that is how Roose-

velt and the war party are creating a political and military dictatorship that will extend right into your homes . . . *Egging on innocent Japan* . . . This pagan irresponsible dictatorial war party does not represent the people, it is destroying and disuniting the country by treachery and dishonesty . . . This Roosevelt war party is completely subversive to, and run from London." (Jersey City—Pro-American Rally of the Civic Educational Council, 10-27-41)

During the war years Father Curran has contented himself with shadow-boxing with such diversified opponents as Britain, Russia, Civilian Defense, and the Roosevelt Administration. But he has consistently carried the flag for Coughlin and on April 30, 1944, appeared at the Columbus Club in Brooklyn as a speaker at a meeting. He was preceded on the platform by William Grace, a Chicago "nationalist" whose activities will be discussed later. In his speech Grace said:

"I am an isolationist, a nationalist, too—another word for it. I am anti-British, anti-Russian, anti-Japanese, anti-German, anti-everything that is anti-American and wants to hold that flag down . . . Everywhere in government offices are Communists pledged to destroy our way of life and our God."

Following Grace's general blast, Father Curran took the floor. He began with a slur on Walter Winchell for demanding an investigation of Father Coughlin. Curran stated:

"The purpose of this meeting is to impress our people with the dangers of totalitarianism in the U. S. A. When asked whether the purpose of this meeting was in securing the air waves for the use of Father Coughlin, I said that was not the specific purpose of the meeting, but I went on to assure him [the reporter] that Father Coughlin has more right to the air waves of this country than Browder or Winchell." (Great applause.) "As far as I am concerned, and as far as you are concerned, we'll do everything in our power to bring him back."

On June 28, 1944, Curran held his annual Mass to commemorate the ordination of Father Coughlin, and declared:

"For the past twenty-eight years, Father Coughlin has devoted his spiritual and intellectual and oratorical and literary talents to the cause of defending America against all anti-Americans and all anti-Christians." And "... we shall beg God to hasten the day when once again his voice may ring out over the airways to protect our church, our country, our priesthood and our fellow citizens." At the end of the meeting, a collection was taken up to send to Father Coughlin for "his work."

After this Mass, small groups gathered on the church steps. One group gathered about a woman, a former worker in the cause of the Christian Front, who delivered an extemporaneous speech on the "conspiracy for world government" and the "Anglo-Jewish conspiracy" . . . She also reported that Roosevelt was in the third stage of syphilis, that 50,000 men had been killed in the first two days of the battle for Normandy and that 15,000 was one day's toll at Tarawa. The woman then took names and addresses of those who wanted to receive "her bulletin."

Until recently Father Curran has refused to admit any direct connection with the Christian Front, which has had such a stormy, unsavory history and been so identified with anti-Semitism, rabble-rousing, hate-inciting and subversive activities. But on April 9, 1945, 700 people attended a meeting sponsored by the St. Augustine Branch, Ladies Catholic Benevolent Association, No. 1287, of South Boston, at the New England Mutual Building, Boston.

Mrs. William B. Gallagher, wife of the notorious Boston Christian Front leader, was chairlady. She introduced Father Daniel J. O'Leary, a good looking young priest who in turn introduced Father J. F. X. Murphy. Father Murphy then made a long laudatory speech introducing Father Curran.

Curran attacked the entry of the United States into the war and declared that Russia, England, China and France were all Russia First, England First, etc., and in the war at the expense of the United States for their own aggrandizement. Then he came to the Christian Front and said:

"Christian Front is another sacred term that our enemies have lampooned. (Applause.) But by my baptism, by my later confirmation, by the holy fact of my ordination, I believe in the sanctity of the Christian Front. As I told a Jewish friend in Brooklyn who moaned to me about the Christian Front, 'Haven't you got a Jewish Front? What do you call Sidney Hillman and his PAC Front? If you can have a Jewish Front, why can't I belong to a Christian Front?'"

When Father Curran uttered this obvious nonsense, he was, whether he realized it or not, paralleling one of the doctrines which the Nazis used from the very first, that of setting up falsely the straw man of a Jewish Front (or conspiracy) and then attacking it. Or using it as a point of departure for other attacks. And whatever direction his future activities take, whether toward a revived Christian Front or a continued support of Father Coughlin, Curran is obviously a man to watch as the network of dissension and the pattern of disruption grows. It is unlikely that he will return to the praise of fascist Franco. It is certain he will not be quoted again in Nazi pamphlets. But America will do well to remember that spokesmen for disruption have identified him as a man on their "side of the fence."

The threads which link together the strange alliance are sometimes tenuous and finely drawn. But follow only one and you will soon find yourself led from one group to the next. Let us take a typical case and see how quickly we are drawn into the whole maze.

Rev. Norman Vincent Peale is Chairman of the Committee for Constitutional Government. He is also a member of the Advisory Committee of Spiritual Mobilization (which, incidentally, advertises in *The Defender*, published by Gerald Winrod, alleged seditionist, one of the defendants in the Washington trials).

Rev. Norman Vincent Peale once appeared on the same program with Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, a co-defendant of Winrod's in the trial for alleged sedition, notorious anti-Semite, a member of the National Emergency Committee (formed by the

pro-fascist Gerald L. K. Smith [see Chapter IV]), and leader in the "Momism" racket, (see Chapter VII), a woman whose activities link her with fascist groups throughout the country. On the same program that day (October 30, 1938) was Rev. Fr. Edward Lodge Curran, in his capacity as President of the International Catholic Truth Society.

During the same winter of 1938-39, the Rev. Edward Lodge Curran served on a committee of Merwin K. Hart's American Union for Nationalist Spain. On the committee with Father Curran were: John Eoghan Kelly, Patrick F. Scanlon, Lester M. Gray, Mrs. Catherine W. Baldwin, Robert Caldwell Patton, editor of the pro-Franco *Patriot Digest*—and Joseph P. Kamp, of the Constitutional Educational League.

The Literary Activity of Joseph P. Kamp

Joseph P. Kamp was also on a committee which sponsored General George Van Horn Mosely—along with Allen Zoll, Mrs. A. Cressy Morrison, Fred R. Marvin, John Cecil, Major William Lathrop Rich—and again John Eoghan Kelly.

As Director of the Constitutional Educational League, Kamp, the last of the three phenomena, has distributed millions of pieces of literature, most of it used and highly praised by various disruptionist, semi-fascist and pro-fascist groups. According to Kamp himself, he disposed of 2,200,000 copies of one booklet, *Join the C. I. O. and Help Build a Soviet America*, and he claims that between 1937 and 1940 he distributed a total of 10,000,000 pieces of literature.

How were these used? A few instances are indicative.

1. On May 5, 1939, Kamp's *Headline's Bulletin* was distributed at a meeting of the "American Patriots," an organization created by Allen Zoll, notorious Coughlinite and anti-Semite, who was subsequently indicted by a New York Grand Jury for alleged attempted extortion in offering, for the payment of a stated sum of money, to withdraw Coughlin's pickets from the front of the premises of a New York radio station.

Zoll had been associated, also, with Merwin K. Hart and Father Curran in their pro-Franco activities and with Elizabeth Dilling who spoke for Zoll's "American Patriots."

2. Kamp's literature has been advertised in Winrod's *The Defender*, and significantly, two of the Kamp pamphlets, *The Fifth Column in Washington* and *The Fifth Column in the South*, were advertised as available for sale at the offices of *The Defender* publishers in Wichita, Kansas. Winrod once boasted in his publication that as a result of "prominent mention" in *The Defender*, thousands of Kamp's pamphlets were sold.

3. In November, 1940, the *Fiery Cross*, monthly publication of the Ku Klux Klan, carried a large advertisement of the Kamp pamphlet *The Fifth Column in the South*—and the same issue contained an article by Joseph P. Kamp on "Reds" in our government.

4. In 1940, Joe McWilliams, New York's then number one native Nazi, who was later indicted by a Washington grand jury for alleged seditious conspiracy, permitted F. Guy Juenemann to sell copies of Kamp's literature at meetings of the "American Destiny Party."

5. In March, 1942, literature of the Constitutional Educational League was sold at a meeting of the "Patriots of the Republic," a violent "Christian Front" organization which operated out of Brooklyn, N. Y., until its leaders decided that the continuing of its activities might result in an indictment for sedition.

6. On August 19, 1942, Elizabeth Dilling sent out to her mailing list a post card announcing that there were now available on sale at her office (The Patriotic Research Bureau) copies of Kamp's *Native Nazi Purge Plot*. One portion of the post card stated that the booklet was "fascinating, factually dynamite . . . Get it! Read it! Push it! Lend copies to friends and neighbors before election time."

Subsequently Dilling made it clear that she was selling these books in order to help raise a defense fund for herself as one of the defendants in the "Washington sedition case."

7. Kamp literature has been distributed by the "American

Women Against Communism" (see Chapter VII) and copies of Kamp's booklet, *What's Cooking* were received by people who were on the mailing list of Coughlin's *Social Justice*.

They have been spread by fifth columnists all over America—and they are still available to any fascist in America who wants to use them.

For Joseph P. Kamp still has an office at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City, and according to the stationery of the Constitutional Educational League, it also has offices at the following addresses:

"National Headquarters"

631 Chapel Street

New Haven, Conn.

"Midwest Headquarters"

Pioneer Building

Madison, Wisconsin

"Southern Department"

Protective Life Building

Birmingham, Alabama

The Constitutional Educational League is a Connecticut corporation and though it maintains an office in New York County, no certificate authorizing it to do business is on file in the County Clerk's office or in Albany.

Kamp claims that the League is "educational" and has made every effort to keep its records from public investigation. In 1937 he and Chester A. Hanson, Secretary-Treasurer of the League were subpoenaed to appear before the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee and to produce "all records, documents, correspondence, etc." pertaining to the League's business. Kamp failed to appear.

On November 19, Chester A. Hanson did appear, but failed to produce the records, explaining that on November 14, five days before the hearing took place, Kamp had "taken" the files out of the cabinets at the New Haven office and with him on an "auto trip." The weight of the files was about 150 pounds.

Hanson was questioned and revealed a startling ignorance of the Constitution of the United States. This, together with Hanson's description of the League's activities, caused Senator

Elbert D. Thomas of Utah to remark, "I can judge quite correctly from what you say, then, that the word 'Constitutional' does not have any meaning in your Constitutional Educational League . . . and the word 'educational' has no meaning."

More recently, Kamp had another occasion to tell legislators about his League and to put information about it on the open records. He was summoned, in the fall of 1944, by the House Campaign Expenditures Investigating Committee. On October 5, 1944, he refused, for a second time, to turn over his records to the committee, and on October 8, the Committee cited him for contempt. Later, on November 10, 1944, the U. S. Attorney General's office charged Kamp with "wilfully and deliberately" refusing to turn over records to the Committee, and on December 21, a Federal Grand Jury indicted Kamp on that charge.

Strangely enough, he has not, up to this writing, been brought to trial.

Kamp has often boasted of "close contacts" in various government agencies. He has told friends that he has a connection in the Department of Justice (of course he offered no proof) and has frequently referred to his friendship with congressmen (which he has been able to prove). He used to boast of his assistance to ex-Congressman Martin Dies' Investigative Committee, and said in October, 1943, "Martin Dies and I have been playing ball for years." Kamp's former secretary, Hazel Hoffman, was employed for a while, by the Dies Committee.

At one time, when the Committee was still active, Kamp advised "patriots" not to give information to J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI, but to give it, instead, to Martin Dies and himself.

Representative Clare E. Hoffman, of Michigan, has praised Kamp's literature (see Chapter IX), and told of distributing it himself, at his own expense. Representative Paul Shafer, of Michigan, has also publicly endorsed Kamp's writings.

Yet, in the summer of 1942, Kamp's Constitutional Educational League was named in the Washington indictment for alleged sedition as one of the agencies through which the de-

fendants sought to carry out the charged conspiracy to undermine the morale of our armed forces.

And, according to a newspaper report of August 24, 1942, Kamp was busy raising a fund for the defense of the twenty-eight who were then indicted for the alleged conspiracy. This report stated that Kamp was raising his defense fund through the sale of a booklet which he called *Maloney's Moscow Trials*. (William P. Maloney was the first Government prosecutor in the case.)

Up to the present time, all this does not seem greatly to have injured Kamp's standing nor to have curtailed his activities.

However, this is not very strange in the light of what Kamp has been able to do in the past, and of the background which has not seemed to hinder him.

Joseph P. Kamp was born in Yonkers, N. Y., on May 3, 1900. His father was Joseph Kamp, a tailor who was born in Germany and had come to America shortly before Joseph P. Kamp's birth.

The younger Kamp went to school in Yonkers, evidently graduating from grade school there. He entered the Yonkers High School, but at the end of one six-months' term, left, apparently of his own accord.

Little is known of him until 1933—though he spent some time as a process-server after his high-school days. In 1933, according to the records in the New York County Clerk's office, a business certificate was filed, on December 7th, for *The Awakener Publishing Co.*, 11 W. 42nd St., New York City, with Joseph P. Kamp and Harold Lord Varney as the owners. Varney was a well-known pro-Mussolini propagandist.

Soon after that a bank account was opened in the name of *The Awakener* and Joseph P. Kamp at the Banca Commerciale Italiana in New York City.

Besides Kamp and Varney, *The Awakener* listed as an "Associate Editor," Lawrence Dennis, self-styled brains of American fascism, later indicted by the Department of Justice on charges of taking part in a Nazi conspiracy.

In 1937, in the face of rising criticism, *The Awakener* dis-

continued publication, but Kamp revealed, in a letter to one of his followers, that its work would continue.

He wrote: "*The Awakener* is dead, but the work is being carried on, and you will receive, in return for your stamps, some recent booklets and pamphlets of the Constitutional Educational League . . ."

On July 29, 1937, a business certificate was filed in the New York County Clerk's Office for the Raakamp Publishing Co. The address furnished for this company was 78 W. 55th Street, New York City, which was the home of a Mr. Bentley Raak.

The present address of the Raakamp Publishing Company is 342 Madison Avenue, New York City, and its co-owner, along with Mr. Raak, is Joseph P. Kamp. The Raakamp Publishing Company is supposedly inactive, but it carries an active bank account at the Irving Trust Company, Empire State Branch, 5th Avenue and 34th Street, New York City.

Since Mr. Kamp is reticent about the finances of the Constitutional Educational League, and since the address of the Constitutional Educational League is also at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City, it may interest some of the League's contributors to learn what they can about Raakamp Publishing Co.

An associate of Kamp in the Constitutional Educational League was A. Cloyd Gill, a man with a record going back to the infamous Asheville Conference. (In 1936 Gill had helped to arrange the conference in Asheville, North Carolina, attended by leading American anti-Semites and pro-Nazi propagandists, where, for the first time, a program of political anti-Semitism was laid out on a national scale.)

According to the sworn statement of a former close associate, Gill received, in 1938, \$600 from a Mr. T. Ono of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce. This was the price, according to the affidavit, for inserting in the *Counsellor*, a Gill publication, a pro-Japanese article, entitled "Communism in the Far East."

Gill and Kamp worked closely together, until 1943. Then, early in the morning of April 7, Gill was found dead in the

offices of the Constitutional Educational League. According to the coroner, the death was due to "natural causes."

The source of Kamp's funds is difficult to find. Kamp claims that the League's chief source of funds is donations from individuals and associations, though he has also boasted, on occasion, that he has received financial backing from industrialists, and reactionary-minded business men.

Whatever his backing, the books, the pamphlets, the leaflets are still streaming out of the League offices. Recently Kamp published one called, *From the Secret Files of the FBI*—though the Federal Bureau of Investigation has issued a statement that these pamphlets were printed without the knowledge or consent of the FBI. Incredible as it seems, the activities of Joseph P. Kamp go on, help to continue and to build up the strange alliance.

And the strange alliance is linked with other groups, all over the country. There are threads which can be picked up and followed, person to person, group to group. Not all of these individuals and groups operate in the same way. Some may be said to work on a high level, others on a lower, but they all constitute part of a drive against the safety of American democracy. Individuals meet with one group and then another, propaganda moves freely between them—on low levels and high.

Lately, as we will show in subsequent chapters, they have drawn closer. Some of them have now openly banded together in committees. But whether they act openly in concert or not, they are much the same voices in different key; they are the voices of hate; hate the administration, hate the Jews, hate the Negroes, hate the Russians, hate the "reds," hate labor, hate the "international bankers"—but don't hate the fascists, not the Nazis (be kind to them in defeat), don't hate Franco, don't hate the betrayers of American democracy.

Is it strange that America listens to their voices? Is it strange that Americans allow Elizabeth Dilling to say, as she did recently,

"You are well aware, I know, that Jewry's most perfect responsive instrument, has left us. He is con-

tinuing his 'fireside' chats, it is reported, with Old Nick in a new location. The chief mourners' long faces have matched their noses. . . .

"He milked the country of blood and supplies to build world imperialism for Red Jewry. . . ." (The Newspaper PM, 5-27-45.)

Perhaps not so strange when the so-called respectable press has urged on many of these hatreds. Not long after the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt the people of New York City, or that portion of them which reads the New York *Daily News*, were treated to a strange and shocking exhibition of newspaper good taste. In an editorial the *Daily News* linked the death of Roosevelt with that of Hitler and Mussolini to remark that no man is indispensable.

While Gerald L. K. Smith was doing his best to discredit the San Francisco Conference, John O'Donnell, *Daily News* columnist, called the conference "as phony as a seven-dollar bill."

Nor is it strange when one considers how little the American public is told about the disruptionists, the spreaders of hate, and disunity. Only a small section of the press reports on their activities and only a few radio commentators with large audiences exposes or checks them. A newspaper such as *PM*, a commentator such as Walter Winchell, are notable for their interest in blocking the dissensionists, disruptionists and hate-mongers. And if it were not for Winchell, in his column and on the air, there would not be a truly powerful voice in America raised against the disruptionists with anything like the consistency of their own brazen bleatings.

Until they and their activities are revealed and exposed and constantly shown to the public, they may continue to grow. Until every ramification of their activity is traced, until every element and every fuse that leads to the time bomb of fascism is discovered and stamped upon, America will remain in danger.

In succeeding chapters we will examine other phases of their activity and discover in what other parts of the country they meet and work and cooperate.

DYNAMITE IN DIXIE

PICK up a telephone in Houston, Texas, and dial Capital 2526. Whoever answers will be speaking from the headquarters of one of the most powerful fascist-minded organizations in the country, an active center for spreading hate, dissension, and anti-labor propaganda.

The Houston telephone directory lists the organization as "The Christian American" but trade unionists throughout the South will give you a different label. They will tell you grimly that its proper designation should be "Un-American, Inc." They will warn you about its apparently limitless funds for its anti-union work. Negroes below the Mason-Dixie line will give you still another name—"Streamlined Klan, 1945 Model."

Both have the same thing in mind, for both fear the power and the influence of the organization which calls itself The Christian American. And both have reason to, for even now there is a battle on in the Southland. The chips are down and the stakes are high. They are nothing less than complete control of a rich section of the country, rapidly industrialized by the war—with big profits for those who can assure themselves of cheap labor, held in iron domination. And the backers of The Christian American are playing for keeps.

To get the picture of how operations are conducted in the South, to see the pattern which may undermine and split American democracy if unchecked, let us look at two seemingly unrelated incidents in the South during the last two years, and see how significantly they fit into the pattern.

We will begin on a warm June day in 1944, in the small, war-booming town of Beaumont, Texas. Incident number one: On June 17th, at approximately 3 P.M., the Negro residential and business section of Beaumont was going about its affairs as usual when, along the streets, pedestrians were suddenly frozen in their tracks. The wail of police sirens split the air of the Negro community and white motorcycle cops tore through the streets, shouting, "Get off the streets! Get off the streets!" Beaumont Negroes did not wait to ask why. They ran for cover. Instinctively, they knew what was coming. Shortly after the motorcycles tore off, a mob of whites stormed into the Negro area.

What happened in the next 24 hours left the nation shocked. When the white hoodlums were finished, the Beaumont Negro business and residential section lay in embers. The nearby shipyards all but stopped war production. Local war plants shut down. Men lay dead, and the hospitals and jails were filled. State police who were rushed to the scene had arrested 80 whites as ringleaders of the atrocity, and on the night of June 18th the still-burning embers lit the skies above the Texas war town with a figurative warning: "Nigger, stay in your place!"

Incident number two: Approximately a year earlier, on March 4, 1943, one of the bitterest debates in the history of the Arkansas State Legislature raged on the floor of the House in Little Rock. A handful of representatives were fighting a losing battle to prevent the passage of a bill which has since become sinisterly familiar in the legislatures of at least twenty southern and borderline states.

This is the bill widely sponsored by The Christian American as the "Right to Work" amendment. In Arkansas, the few courageous legislators who opposed it fought what they knew was a losing battle, because they also knew how thor-

oughly the bill's sponsors had set the stage for its passage.

Tens of thousands of dollars had been spent in Arkansas to win support for it. Farmers, businessmen and union-hating industrialists had been brought together to fight for it. Not a newspaper in the state had been overlooked in distributing a widespread paid advertising campaign. Time was paid for on radio chains. Even some churches were swung into line. Now, in the legislature itself, the heat was on in earnest for its passage. And holding the torch was The Christian American.

As the debate raged to a heated climax at Little Rock, a harassed opponent of the bill summed up the portent of its passage in forthright language. He was Representative Chambers, of Columbia, Arkansas. He was frank about the way he was going to vote, even though he had fought the measure from its introduction. Turning to his fellow Representatives, he said he now intended to vote for passage only because the county he represented had been so completely organized by The Christian American agents that he had no alternative. Then, turning in anger to the gallery, Representative Chambers looked at a tall, sallow man sitting impassively among the visitors. This man was Val Sherman, reactionary, union-hating Texan, Associate Director of The Christian American. Sherman had come to Little Rock well supplied with funds to see to it personally that the bill went through. Pointing to Sherman, Representative Chambers shouted, "I'm not branding Mr. Sherman as a disciple of Hitler, but he's a graduate of his school. Hitler would be glad to charter a submarine to Texas and solicit his services!" (*Arkansas Gazette*, March 4, 1943.)

The bill passed the House by a vote of 62 to 29. Later the Senate set it aside "temporarily." But The Christian American resumed its fight for passage, and at this writing the issue is not yet settled.

What is the aim of the The Christian American, and what is its interest in sponsoring passage of the "Right to Work" amendment?

To begin with, the "Right to Work" amendment is only part

of an entire anti-union plan, which comes wrapped in three deceitful packages, and which The Christian American group hopes to sell to the entire 48 states. The packages are:

1. "Anti-violence in strikes" law. Under this law it would seem that all an employer need do to break up a labor union is to get any member of the union or any employee to charge that union officials, union members, or pickets have *threatened* (not necessarily committed) violence "to deprive him of his right to work." Heavy sentences and fines against union men could then be levied which could easily put the unions out of business. Everybody who opposes this law is accused by its proponents of upholding the right to riot. A neater and more vicious attack on union rights has never been schemed.

2. The "Right to Work" measure which is being sponsored now in individual states and which is offered as an amendment that can some day be incorporated into a national Constitutional amendment. This flanking operation attacks another part of union organization. It seeks to kill off unionism by abolishing the closed shop. It "upholds the right" of an individual to work in an open shop even though the majority vote may favor a certain union and a closed shop—and even though only one dissenter may be the *only* worker who chooses to work in an open shop. Obviously, under its protection anti-union organizations, or employers, can easily smash unions even where they have now been accepted by the majority of workers in any plant or business.

3. By pushing through the "Right to Work" amendment the Wagner Labor Relations Act would be, to all practical purposes, repealed. Later official repeal of it could be easily managed.

Such a program obviously appeals only to the arch-enemies of labor. It can benefit only those who propose to use and to exploit and to create cheap labor. It would mean the end of all unionism and the unbridled mastery of labor by overlords.

Yet, both the "Right to Work" amendment and the "anti-violence in strikes" law have been introduced in a number of

southern states and one or the other has been passed in many of them—with the help of The Christian American and the reactionary Texan, W. Lee “Pappy” O’Daniel.

Where does their passage and the terror in Beaumont link up? Where does the battle of Little Rock and the hoodlumism in Beaumont tie in?

The burning of Beaumont was the last *overt* act, up to the time of this writing, by the old-school rope and faggot adherents of the Ku Klux Klan technique. It was a final desperate effort to stave off what the Klan considered was a groundswell of liberalism in southern states. It was the Klan’s challenge to the CIO and AFL. It was a threat to Negroes, who looked to the unionists and FEPC for some measure of protection and for some hope of equal economic rights.

It didn’t work. Beaumont’s Negroes, though understandably frightened, were not completely intimidated. They rebuilt their homes and their shops. They went back to their jobs and continued to produce the sinews of war. Of course they had the economic strength (occasioned by available war jobs) to resist intimidation. And they had the courage (backed by the knowledge that they were needed in wartime) to return to their homes and their work. The fact that America was at war against foreign enemies was a measure of protection to them.

So the outrage in Beaumont was not repeated. There was no further incident.

The men who propound the philosophy of white supremacy, knew then that the fiery cross was, for the time being, an unsatisfactory weapon.

The Christian American’s Plots and Planners

But others were at work. There were other lines of attack. There is more than one way to strike at labor and to bring it to terms: attack in the legislative field when the lower strata temporarily abandons force; set up a long-range program. It

may take longer, but it can be made to work. How?

First, by weakening and then breaking entirely the backbone of a growing liberal movement in the South. Then fascism—*after* (1) the legislative program weakens the trade unions, (2) liberals, Southern educators, public office holders, clergymen and other progressives have been outmaneuvered, and (3) the Southern Negro has been forced into a weaker position than he is today.

The big figures behind The Christian American organization, such as W. Lee O'Daniel, Senator from Texas, Lewis Valentine Ulrey, wealthy Texas realtor and Christian American chairman, Val Sherman, giant ham-fisted Vance Muse, Senator O'Daniel's right-hand man and secretary of The Christian American—these men and their rich contributors who own or represent a number of Texas industries, are fighting it out in the legislatures.

They fought it out in Arkansas. They have fought it out and won in eleven southern states. They plan to capture, if possible, every other southern state and many border states.

In the meantime, the Klan and other kindred nightshirt organizations throughout the South are reviving and strengthening. Such Klan outfits are not using physical terror for the time being. They are quietly but steadily building up underground hoodlum groups, keeping them ready until the signal is given to go. That signal will be given when the "enemy," the progressive, the labor, the liberal forces have been sufficiently "softened up." Then, unless these liberal forces knuckle under, unless labor and the Negro are content to see "white supremacy" established, to witness a return to the old feudalism of the South, watch for terror to ride again.

That does not mean that there is no danger in the South even today. The Christian American, in its flanking attack on the South's body politics is distributing violent anti-Negro tracts, is encouraging divisive, racial theories, is spreading disunity—and building toward the unchallenged establish-

ment of "white supremacy," which of course means "Gentile white supremacy."

National headquarters of The Christian American is located in the Kirby Building in Houston, Texas. The organization itself evolved from another outfit called the Jeffersonian Democrats, which was set up in 1936 by the late John H. Kirby, Houston millionaire.

Tycoon Kirby was one of the richest men in the South. He was also a confirmed believer in drastic, hard-fisted methods to keep labor down, in suppressing all forms of liberal thought and above all, in seeing that Negroes could not rise above the social, political and economic levels set for them by the "white supremacist" rulers of the South.

Through Vance Muse and other reactionaries in the South and in Congress, Kirby funneled a fortune into any movement which promised to preserve the status quo. He could well afford this. He was chairman of a petroleum company, president of an investment company and president of a lumber company. He is described in a piece of Christian American literature as "foremost industrialist of Texas and the South and for many years . . . his state's wealthiest citizen." As an outstanding southern industrialist he flaunted his Tory views and openly espoused and occupied a post as member of the executive committees of the Sentinels of the Republic and the Order of American Patriots, both thinly disguised organizations for disseminating race hatred and union busting literature.

Vance Muse, whose residence is at 2708 Werlein Street, Houston, worked for Kirby as the Jeffersonian Democrats' ideological leader and lobbyist. Backed by the Kirby millions, he succeeded in spreading disruptive anti-New Deal, anti-labor propaganda throughout the South. When Kirby died, Muse formed The Christian American, taking the name from a "hate sheet" magazine published by a crackpot white supremacist group with whom Muse was then connected.

Muse was soon joined by Val Sherman, whose address is 6623 Brompton Street, Houston. The pair worked together

to build The Christian American outfit, to organize branches and to attract big money.

The record of Vance Muse indicates clearly where he is headed. His appearance and brains make him a dangerous man. A six-foot-four giant, his towering figure is regularly seen in the top money crowd with men who are willing to spend generously to smash the unions and "put the nigger back in his place." Muse hobnobs, too, with state and federal legislators, with extreme tory businessmen who consider Muse and his spiritual mentor, "Pappy" O'Daniel, the white-haired boys and potential saviors of the white supremacy tradition.

Muse's wife is his paid secretary, and is as rabid as her husband in their chosen mission of making the South "safe" for reaction and white supremacy. Recently, in an extremely frank moment, Mrs. Muse told an interviewer that for the present, "The Christian American cannot afford to be anti-Semitic, but we know where we stand on the Jews all right! It does not pay us to work with Winrod, Smith, Coughlin and those others up north; they are too outspoken and would get us into trouble." (Though they are clever enough to avoid open meetings with such notorious figures, Muse and other chiefs of The Christian American have met privately with Gerald L. K. Smith and Winrod.)

Now in his early 50's, Muse has had long experience in spreading race hatred and battling for reaction. Back in 1920 he organized the Southern Tariff Association, a high-pressure lobby financed by northern Republican industrialists and bankers who wanted to keep southern labor in the low income brackets. Later Muse organized the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, a typical reactionary outfit which, under the guise of its praiseworthy name, sponsored anti-New Deal, anti-labor literature and propaganda.

In 1935 Governor Talmadge worked with Muse to promote the notorious "Grass Roots Convention" at Macon, Georgia, which was intended as a spearhead against progressive, social service and labor legislation sponsored by the late President Roosevelt as part of the New Deal.

Muse proved himself an expert lobbyist, as his present

activities with The Christian American illustrate. He was equally effective on behalf of the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution. In effect his activities had become so disruptive that he was ordered to appear before the Senate Special Committee to Investigate Lobbying Activities, which met during the second session of the 74th Congress on April 15, 1936.

Under cross-examination by the then Senator Hugo Black, Muse admitted that his Committee was responsible for printing and distributing literature showing Mrs. Roosevelt in the company of Negroes, and quoting Mrs. Roosevelt as stating that Negroes were welcome and frequent visitors at the White House, Muse also admitted being the originator of vicious literature, aimed at stirring up race hatred, and claimed that Governor Talmadge had urged its distribution.

When Senator Black demanded of Muse whether Kirby's Order of American Patriots had anything to do with the distributions, Muse defied the Senate Committee and declared:

"I won't talk about my fraternal connections. I am not going to talk when I've sworn on the flag and Bible that I am not going to discuss these things." (Incidentally, the Klan oath is also taken upon the flag and Bible.) Later, under cross-questioning, Muse shouted: "I am a southerner and I am for white supremacy!" During the same hearing, this southern "patriot" admitted meeting with fascist Gerald L. K. Smith in an Atlanta hotel.

Interviewed in 1942 by a reporter from the Houston *Chronicle*, Muse boasted of The Christian American's connections with big money and power political circles, stating, "There are 25 responsible men spread through twelve southern states whose names are not to be revealed for obvious reasons."

Vance Muse works with enormous energy as well as determination. There is not a legislative hall or big business circle in the South which has not felt the impact of his personal presence and activities. Sometimes following and sometimes trailblazing for Senator O'Daniel (who has addressed most legislative bodies in the South on behalf of The Christian American's union-busting bills) Muse has helped to

secure the passage of the "Anti-Violence" Statute in Texas, Arkansas, Florida, Alabama, Colorado, Kansas, South Dakota, Minnesota, Idaho and Wisconsin.

In his barnstorming trips, meeting with legislators and businessmen, he has publicly stated that the present objective of the CA in the current campaign is to get the CA-sponsored anti-union laws on the statute books of the entire twenty states of the South and West which are predominantly agricultural and where unions are still weak. Muse has listed these states as Oregon, Montana, North Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, New Mexico, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, West Virginia, Maryland, Texas, Tennessee, Georgia and Oklahoma. Nor is this an idle hope or a mere organization wish. It is the planned program of The Christian American (with resources and brains behind it) to stampede every one of these states into passage of both the "Right to Work" measure (with its provision calling for a federal amendment outlawing federal labor rights) and the "Anti-Violence" Statute.

Other Christian American leading lights have just as interesting backgrounds as Vance Muse.

According to a Christian American leaflet, Maco Stewart, Sr., who was born in Galveston, Texas, "was generally considered to be the greatest title lawyer in the South. But he was more than a lawyer, for he was also a financier and man of affairs. . . . About eight years ago, Lewis Valentine Ulrey, a university-trained man of wide learning and experience, a former Democratic State Senator in Indiana, a geologist, engineer and oil producer, who had gone to Galveston for his health, became 'Geologist and Consulting Engineer' for Maco Stewart and Son, and also took charge of their anti-radical activities. Senator Ulrey still serves the Stewarts."

Lewis Valentine Ulrey also won fame in open-shop circles by advocating the twelve hour work day. Lewis Valentine Ulrey once took over distribution of Gerald Winrod's hate propaganda in the South, after Winrod was indicted by the Federal Government on charges of alleged conspiracy with

the German Nazi Party to overthrow the United States Government. Lewis Valentine Ulrey was a contributor to Gerald Winrod's *The Defender* in 1937-1939, and in an article which appeared in *The Defender* he once wrote:

"Into this bedlam and chaos in Germany Adolf Hitler injected himself as a new . . . messiah, to lead the ORDERLY GERMAN from political confusion to SYSTEMATIC UNITY.

"Hitler succeeded in breaking the Versailles treaty, recovering the Saar Basin, effecting anschluss with Austria and re-arming the nation without firing a single shot except at some recalcitrant followers . . .

"Hitler put it up to the Germans to decide between the Jewish ownership and domination of the country, or DOMINATION AND OWNERSHIP BY THE NINETY-NINE PER CENT GERMAN POPULATION.

"HUMAN NATURE BEING WHAT IT IS, IT IS NOT STRANGE THAT THE GERMANS DECIDED AGAINST THE JEWS, AND IN FAVOR OF HITLER . . .

"OUR PRESIDENT HAS SENT TWO INSULTING MESSAGES TO HITLER, AND A NUMBER OF HIS PINK CABINETEERS HAVE MOST BLATANTLY AND VIOLENTLY BROADCAST SILLY INSULTS TO THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT."

Maco Stewart, whom Ulrey "serves," in 1944, contributed \$2500 to W. Lee "Pappy" O'Daniel's campaign against the late President Roosevelt. Stewart is a member of the Committee for Constitutional Government, and was also active in the Texas Regulars' plot in the 1944 campaign.

John Crooker and E. E. Townes, both Houston lawyers, were among the important leaders of The Texas Regulars and were influential forces at the May 1944, Harris County Democratic Convention. Vance Muse and Val Sherman, Associate Director of The Christian American, were both delegates to this same convention. Other delegates to the convention were Martin Dies and "Pappy" O'Daniel.

Both Crooker and Townes, incidentally, are leading figures in the Committee for Constitutional Government. "Pappy" O'Daniel is considered throughout the South as the mouth-piece of The Christian American. In a letter to Vance Muse from an Arkansas Legislator, Merle B. Smith, there was this sentence: "Thanks also for bringing Senator W. Lee O'Daniel here."

When Mrs. O'Daniel was asked by an investigating committee last year who helped in editing the *W. Lee O'Daniel News*, she listed Samuel Pettingill as one. This is the same Pettingill who is a member of the Committee for Constitutional Government.

Another backer of The Christian American is an executive in one of the biggest oil and refining companies in Texas. He tipped his hand recently when he ordered printed an "educational" pamphlet to be distributed among the company's employees to warn them against borrowing. This "educational" booklet carried a picture of a loan shark which was a caricature of a Jew in fine Goebbels style.

Houston, Texas, supporters of The Christian American have their prototypes in many of the other big cities of the South. The Christian American has succeeded in lining up behind its program important southerners ranging from congressmen and bankers to clergymen and educators. But its financial support does not come from the South alone. While Muse maintains that individual contributions range from only five dollars to five hundred dollars, *The Southern Patriot*, a liberal southern newspaper, charged (without proving) that a list of contributors to The Christian American includes such names as the duPonts; the Armour meatpacking family; Philadelphia bankers George D. and Joseph E. Widener; John J. Raskob; Howard C. Hopson; E. W. Mudge of Weirton Steel Co., Wall Street lawyer Ogden Mills and Alfred P. Sloan.

Of itself, The Christian American might be able to pass muster. A man or an organization is not necessarily fascist because he is anti-labor or because he tries to restrain labor activities. Nor is the race-baiting facet of The Christian American unusual in the South. What, then, besides the sinis-

ter fact that southern legislatures have passed almost identical bills sponsored by The Christian American against labor, constitutes a danger to America in The Christian American program?

The fact is that The Christian American supports one of the basic principles of fascism—to divide minorities; to weaken unions.

As good a commentary as any on this phase of the activities of The Christian American (and, incidentally, a hopeful sign) is this resolution which was passed some time ago by the Legislature of Louisiana:

“WHEREAS HITLER has boasted and emphatically stated that it will be a simple matter in our country to set capital against labor, Negro against white, Catholic against Protestant, and Christian against Jew,

“WHEREAS, RECENTLY, in the Heidelberg Hotel, a public headquarters was announced for an association known as Christian American, which association is domiciled and located without the state of Louisiana, and has boasted and advertised the fact that they have come into the state of Louisiana for the purpose of seeing that our legislature would enact laws, which laws would create animosity, antagonism and unrest among the employers and employees of this state and interfere with the harmonious relations of capital and labor in this state,

“BE IT RESOLVED that the legislature of Louisiana do request the FBI and the Dies Committee to investigate the source of revenue, general activities, the personnel and the objectives of The Christian American Association of Houston, Texas, to ascertain and determine whether or not said association is conducting subversive activities in the United States.”

According to a story in *The New Republic* of July 20, 1942, in sponsoring the “Anti-Violence” bill in Louisiana, a spokesman for The Christian American said: “White men and women have been forced into unions with black African apes whom they must call ‘brother’ or lose their cards and their jobs.”

The Christian American considers itself the center of

finances and ideological preparation for the South's postwar explosion against labor, Negroes and all liberal thought.

To tear apart unity is the first step. Then the storm troop movement moves in. Let us look at some of the disruptionist movements which could play this role:—

There is the Commoner Party of Georgia, the Ku Klux Klan, the Talmadge Vigilante Movement, We The People, Anglo-Saxon Federation, Order of American Patriots, Old Age Limit League, American Ideals Association and The Texans (of San Antonio).

These are outright hate organizations. Some are reincarnated Klan groups which have adopted new names and coloration, but they are more forthright in their aims.

The Commoner Party

Consider first the Commoner Party. It brazenly advertises its organizing campaign for "the formation of a Gentile Political Party to combat the Jew and Negro racial blocs now active in the political affairs of the nation." Headquarters of the Commoner Party is at Conyers, Georgia. President is aged James L. Shipps, flint-eyed lynch advocate who lives on a large farm he acquired about the same time he launched his fascist movement. This estate, known as the Rockdale Farm is about three miles outside Conyers. Recently he bought a second farm in the neighborhood.

Shipps' working mate is Charles E. Emmons, formerly of Atlanta and now residing at Conyers. He is secretary of the party. Shipps, a blatant, arrogant white-supremacist and anti-Semite, makes no bones about telling all "Commoners" that he and Emmons are merely "fronts for a group of Atlanta businessmen and politicians." In a private conversation early in 1945 in an Atlanta hotel, Shipps revealed that in addition to the men behind the Commoner Party already mentioned, two extremely wealthy men, one in New York and another in California, are supplying the money.

Shipps and Emmons have enough financial support to have printed 200,000 copies of a 32-page "Plan" of the Commoner Party for distribution throughout the state and throughout the country as far north as New York City. Page four of this "Plan" declares "The white people of the South will not forget that this is a White Man's Nation and that they intend to continue to be the ruling class in any racial contest."

The Commoners bluntly call for the disfranchisement of the Negroes and urge measures "to combat the International Jew penetration into American business and politics." Page 27 of the Plan recounts the tragic lynching of a young Atlantan, Leo Frank, and eulogizes the lynchers, declaring "they kept the record straight and protected the proud name of Georgia from the humiliation of a miscarriage of justice".

In addition to their own Plan, Shipps and Emmons distribute a virulent anti-Catholic booklet titled *The Conflict of the Ages*.

Shipps claims he met with an important elected state official of Georgia shortly before this was written and reported later that this official had told him that he and Talmadge don't intend to sanction the Commoner Party openly and become members—"until the European phase of the war is over." During that same report on the talk with this state official, Shipps boasted that when the European phase of the war ended "the fur will fly!"

Among other influential friends of Shipps and Emmons is a vice president of an Atlanta bank (who Shipps claims supplies him with names of wealthy people "who might be interested").

Emmons, who also makes important contacts, went to Detroit early in 1945 where he claims to have talked with William J. Cameron, editor of Henry Ford's defunct anti-Semitic newspaper, *The Dearborn Independent*. The Commoner Party chiefs have established contacts with scores of people in every sizeable town in the state. Talking recently to an interviewer, Shipps produced an advertisement which appeared in the *Atlanta Journal* on February 11, 1945, which reads:

"Christians: Wanted, members and workers for a national organization. Send names to Mrs, Mayme Kirby, 2324 Clerendon Avenue, Bessemer, Georgia."

"She's one of our agents," said Shipps.

Similar ads have appeared in various local newspapers in the state.

In January of this year, Shipps told friends in Conyers to be sure to get a copy of the then forthcoming issue of Talmadge's paper, *The Statesman*, and read an editorial which would go all out in attacking the Negroes. In the issue of January 22nd *The Statesman* carried a blazing editorial reminiscent of the Klan days following the Civil War.

Though it obviously has other sources of income, the Commoner Party does not overlook the opportunity to take in money along with recruits. Indeed they seem to realize that the two activities go well together, one bolstering the other. On page 30 of the "Organization Plan", this item appears:

"THIS BATTLE CALLS FOR DONATIONS"

"The Commoner Party is confronted by a condition that can be most successfully met by a Party newspaper that can devote all its space to the Organization Plan. There will be other running expenses that should not be left to a few loyal supporters. If we have not misjudged the feelings of the American people, the necessary funds will be forthcoming."

Support and funds may be forthcoming. Its peculiar plans will appeal to some people. For instance, its demand that the 15th Amendment to the Constitution be repealed and that Negroes be dis-enfranchised—with their only opportunity for again receiving the franchise being "Franchise Courts" to which they could apply and to which they would have to submit proof of voting qualification.

In promoting this idea, the Commoner Party booklet says:

"The management of this Government and the guarantee of its destiny is a white man's job and cannot be left to theoretical political distortions."

The anti-Semitism of the Commoner Party may also appeal to some. A paragraph like this may bring in recruits:

"THE REASON WHY"

"Only 23 per cent of the Jews who went over to Palestine went 'rural' to do the 'physical labor.' The other 77 per cent went into the cities to 'farm the farmers.' A Jew Nation is unthinkable to a Jew. That is the reason they prefer to dwell in nations of Gentiles. The Gentiles go out and produce the wealth and the Jews stay in cities with their profit-taking system to grab it as the Gentiles bring it in."

Such an obvious, Nazi-like libel, will have a strong appeal to the fascist-minded. It may add to Commoner Party strength.

And the bitter fact is that such outfits as the Commoner Party are rising in the South today, gaining strength, converts and financial support. Some information on the others is presented in the following pages. But in the months ahead, remember the Commoner Party. And, if the South does suffer a postwar civil explosion, watch the Commoner Party!

Plans of the Klan

Anyone under the illusion that the Ku Klux Klan is dead has only to ask enough people on the streets of any town in the South when and where the next local Klan meeting takes place, and eventually he will be told when and where such a meeting will be held. Or, if he prefers to engage in what may seem almost schoolboyish melodrama, he can go into any center where men congregate and speak to as many men as he can, interspersing his conversation with the word "ayak." Before long, one of his listeners will reply "akai." The first word stands for "Are you a Klansman?" and the second is the answer. "A Klansman am I."

On page 641 of the 1945 *World Almanac*, the address of the Klan in Atlanta is listed as 278 E. Pace's Ferry Road. Secretary, J. Floyd Johnson, Box 1204, Atlanta, Georgia.

If you go to the Mason Building on Marietta Street and wait long enough, you will likely be there when a meeting takes place. The guard at the door will tell you that the men attending the meeting belong to the "Fact Finders" and then he will ask you to get the hell about your business. The Fact Finders is composed of KKK rebels who threatened to vote against the decision of James Colescott, Imperial Wizard, to lay low until V-E Day. These men wanted action earlier.

"X-Ray," on January 1, 1944, carried an ad of the Knights of Ku Klux Klan stating—"Urgent matters demand immediate action by Klan Number Four. Signed, James A. Colescott, Imperial Wizard, Box 1204, Atlanta, Georgia." In November, 1944, advertisements appeared in an Atlanta Newspaper, promoting the sale of a book titled *Ku Klux Klan* by a Col. Winfield Jones. The people of Atlanta were probably not surprised, because the continued existence of the Klan is an open secret despite the national publicity given to the proclamation of James Colescott in June, 1944, that the Klan was disbanded. Actually the Klan never entirely "disbanded." On June 5, 1944, an Associated Press story in the *New York Times* quotes Colescott as saying: "This does not mean that the Klan is dead. We simply have released local chapters from all obligations, financial and otherwise, to the Imperial Headquarters. I still am Imperial Wizard. The other officials still retain their titles, although of course the functions of all of us are suspended. We have authority to meet and reincarnate at any time." Today, under one name or another the Klan is being reincarnated.

The man interested in the reorganization of the Klan in Georgia is not Colescott, however, but Dr. Samuel Green, with offices in the Peters Building in Atlanta, who is designated as "Grand Dragon" of the KKK in Georgia. It is Green who engineered Colescott into his present post as Imperial Wizard. A few years ago, when Dr. Green began distribution of copies of what is called *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*

-Official Publication of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan



The

FIERY CROSSES

-The Voice of Americanism

VOL. 4, No. 6

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER, 1942.

\$1.00 A YEAR

United Front At Home Essential To United States Winning War

**Americans Slap
Communists At
The Ballot Box**

**Congressmen Who Think
And Vote American
Supported by The**

'Communist Pet' Defeated

Another bitter, unfair enemy of American ideals will be removed from Congress at the end of this session.

Congressman Thomas H. Eliot, Massachusetts, who was given time on the radio to oppose the Dies committee, and then took unfair advantage of the opportunity to make a bitter, unfair and untruthful attack on the Ku Klux Klan was defeated in his effort to gain renomination to Congress. His days in

**EVERY AMERICAN MUST SUPPORT
THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS
AGAINST POWER-MAD DICTATORS**

**All Other Issues Secondary Until The
Flag of Victory Flies Over Our Country**

The significant thing about the above reproduction of the Ku Klux Klan's official paper, The Fiery Cross, is the date of its publication—September-October, 1942—after Pearl Har-

bor. Its call for a united front and support of the war effort is at sharp variance with Ku Klux Klan activities, which have stirred up race hatred and dissension during wartime.

long ago proven a forgery, Green was told that this type of literature was harmful to the war effort.

One of the men who spoke to Dr. Green at that time made this statement:

"A friend of mine and myself called on Dr. Samuel Green with the object of asking him to discontinue the distribution of the *Protocols*. We explained to him how untrue they were and that they were forgeries. He was not ready to accept that statement as being true. He said that they were not proved to be false to *his* satisfaction.

"The war (in Europe) was then on, and we gave him all the reasons why they shouldn't be distributed. He finally said he would discontinue distributing the *Protocols* until after the war, 'for the sake of unity'."

In Birmingham the old Klan leadership is still present and is now being reorganized by a prominent attorney of that city. In recent months this lawyer has written a number of articles inflaming opinion against Negroes. In Houston there is a group which still uses the name Ku Klux Klan. As a matter of fact, throughout the entire South, in villages and towns, and in the larger cities, the Klan is being reorganized. The name is not always the same, but the menacing program is.

Other Southern Views

The burning of Beaumont can be repeated—again and again. If The Christian American can tear apart the fabric of democracy and liberalism, if it can weaken labor, promote dissension, there will be a time for the Klan to ride again. Then beatings, burnings and lynchings can bludgeon democracy out of existence in the South. Then labor will be glad enough to work for what little it can get, then neither Negroes nor Jews nor Catholics nor poor whites will dare to ask for more than is offered them—and then America will witness fascism within its own borders.

To be sure, force and terror may not always ride as the Klan. Some leaders consider the name in disrepute, even dangerous. They are recruiting and organizing Klan-like groups under different names.

Eugene Talmadge, editor of the anti-labor, anti-Negro, anti-Semitic paper, *The Statesman*, which blatantly demands white supremacy and fights the liberal democratic state administration of Governor Arnall of Georgia, is organizing a group called the Vigilantes. John Goodwin, a Talmadge henchman, does the paper work for this group. Its aims, its rolls are secret. But anyone who knows the Talmadge record, who reads the Talmadge paper, need not wonder long about its purpose.

In Atlanta there is another organization called We The People, which claims to substitute for the Klan. During the Georgia state elections in 1944 an Atlanta attorney named Vesper Ownby campaigned for the state legislature. He openly boasted of his affiliation with the Klan—and named We The People as a group which also sponsored him.

In Houston, Texas, where The Christian American organization is central and strong, there is a group which calls itself American Crusaders and boasts, in Houston alone, a membership of 5,000—and a full company, equipped with rifles, which the Crusaders claim engages in military training and drilling. The purpose of this patriotically-named band is “vigilante.” It aims to “rid the country of the ‘niggers’ and the Jews after the war.”

In the same city, a group with a similarly patriotic-sounding name, is planning to organize the veterans when they return. This calls itself The Order of American Patriots. It was formed about a year and a half ago.

The organization's emblem is a miniature silver wing. It meets secretly in a building on Main Street, between the 3200 and 3300 block, and while its present membership is reported in the thousands, its secrecy masks the actual number. Its members, however, are quite willing to talk about the organization and its purposes. They declare that one of the requisites

PETITION FOR ENLISTMENT

IN THE

ORDER OF AMERICAN PATRIOTS

To the **COMMANDER, STAFF OFFICERS AND PATRIOTS** of

Corps Area of _____

I hereby voluntarily apply for enlistment in the Order of American Patriots.

I do seriously declare, upon my honor, that I believe in God, unqualified allegiance to the laws and the Constitution of the United States of America and my Flag, the Stars and Stripes. I do solemnly promise to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, bequeathed to us by our Patriot Forefathers. I will aid and assist our fighting forces upon their return to secure jobs they so justly deserve.

I am a white male citizen of the United States, of good morals and respectable vocation, and I am not now, nor will I engage in any occupation prohibited by law or decency.

Should I be accepted, I pledge my loyalty to the constitution of the Order of American Patriots, and as a soldier in its ranks, I promise upon my sacred honor to conform to its laws, ideals and principles.

Occupation: _____

Signed _____

Residence Address _____

Business Address _____

Phones _____

We hereby certify that we are personally acquainted with Mr. _____ and recommend him for enlistment.

Patriot _____ Patriot _____

My donation accompanies this application.

Date _____

The Order of American Patriots is actively recruiting veterans throughout the South.

If you are an ex-serviceman and walk into any bar, club or social gathering in the Texas cities of Houston and Austin especially, or in the cities and towns of Georgia and Alabama, you are quite sure to be approached and asked to sign up with the Order of American Patriots.

Jews are strictly prohibited. The "Order" is organized along military lines. You don't "join." You "enlist." Then you are assigned to the "corps area" in your region.

A Major Benjamin C. Richards is active head of the "Order" in Texas and makes his headquarters in Dallas. W. E. Elliot is chief of the Houston branch. The Houston outfit some months ago opened an office and recreation lounge for servicemen in the basement of the Savoy Hotel in Houston.

Major Richards joined the U. S. Marines shortly after Pearl Harbor and resigned in March, 1942. The "Order" has 1,700 members in Houston and several thousand additional members in various other southern cities. Major Richards served a term for forgery in 1930 and was later pardoned. He is at present a Major in the Texas State Guard. This outfit bears watching.

of membership is the ownership of sidearms, and that recently one of the "inspectors" of the organization began a tour of the homes of all members to examine side-arms to be sure that they are in good shape.

Already active in recruiting returning veterans, their approach is, "While you were away the Jews have taken over. Now you will be able to find neither a job nor a business."

In groups such as these potential danger lies. Out of any such group the explosion, or first series of explosions, might come. In addition to brains and money, in addition to widespread disunity and dissension throughout the country, fascism needs a mailed fist to help it take over. And some are willing—and ready—to supply it.

THE MIDWEST REDOUBT

IN the huge, throbbing industrial heart of America, in the cities which produced and pumped a stream of war supplies throughout the land and the world, in the cities which America must count on for post-war production and peace, the network of fascism has been spun widely and tightly.

The two major operational centers are Chicago and Detroit. The great, teeming metropolis of Chicago is, in many ways, the "hub of America." It ties in the vast rail networks that link traffic east and west. Since Pearl Harbor it has also become the hub of another network, of the Fifth Column, of the dangerous fascist forces which threaten the heart of America.

There are two chief reasons for this: First, what isolationist sentiment still persisted in America after it was forced into war, was strong in the midwest and would naturally be concentrated in the midwest's biggest population center. Second, that curious force which is Colonel McCormick's, British-hating, Russian-hating, *Chicago Tribune*, the newspaper which has the largest circulation in the midwest and modestly refers to itself as "The World's Greatest Newspaper."

The *Chicago Tribune* offers a respectable rallying-ground to many groups, ranging from mild isolationists to the rabid

dispensers of disruption, disunity and hate, the outright fascists. In addition to its continuous anti-British, anti-Red, anti-Roosevelt, anti-New Deal fight, the *Chicago Tribune* has engaged in many another dubious battle. In 1940, McCormick and the *Tribune* defended the seventeen members of the Christian Front who were then charged with conspiracy to overthrow the U. S. government (see Chapter II) as "Americans who recognize the communist menace for what it is." The ability of the *Tribune* to see red at every turn has also led it, more recently, to a similar defense of the 33 who were defendants in the Washington sedition trials of 1944.

Not long after Hitler came to power in Germany, the columns of the *Chicago Tribune* carried articles by the German consul, who "explained" National Socialism to *Tribune* readers. McCormick praised the notorious and much-discredited *Red Network* of Elizabeth Dilling when it was published. He has quoted frequently as "an authority on communism" Harry Jung, general manager of the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, ex-labor spy and strike breaker, and one-time collaborator with the Silver Shirts, run by William Dudley Pelley, who is now serving a jail sentence for sedition.

It may not be Colonel McCormick's fault, he may not have planned it this way, but he is the idol of the "nationalists" who have turned Chicago into a city seething with dangerous movements.

Chicago is the home or operational headquarters of Committees, Plans and Institutes, which are not tightly knit organizationally, but which are close-knit in that each group cooperates with the other, shares the same speakers and frequently turns out for the others' meetings. All of them have essentially the same program: They are against world cooperation, the Jews, racial equality, the Four Freedoms and feeding the world (though they do want to feed Germany). They are for a "nationalist" America, and for proving, even now, that Roosevelt put us into the war. They are rabidly against "communism" and everybody who opposes them or their program is a communist.

One of the foremost of these nationalist groups is the Citi-

zens U. S. A. Committee, headed by William J. Grace. Grace is a smooth, stocky, red-faced Chicago lawyer, a friend of ex-Senator Nye, who addressed one of the rallies of the Committee in May, 1943. The committee was originally known as The Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee. It changed its name after Pearl Harbor but retained its original policies. Its secretary is Earl Southard (See John Roy Carlson's *Under Cover*, p. 515) who is also active in Gerald L. K. Smith's America First Party.

The committee holds meetings weekly, on Friday, though Grace sometimes intersperses these with meetings of the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee, which is a political arm of The Citizens U. S. A. Committee. In fact, the "Revival Committee" was launched at the meeting of The Citizens U. S. A. Committee on May 20, 1943 at which Gerald Nye was principal speaker.

This meeting was also distinguished by the attendance of Elizabeth Dilling and Joe McWilliams, both defendants in the so-called Washington sedition trials, and both of whom distributed their literature on that occasion.

Depending upon his speakers for the evening, Grace either holds a meeting of the Citizens U. S. A. Committee, or of the Republican National Revival Committee. Speakers have ranged from such "respectables" as Representatives Paul Shafer, Stephen Day and Chauncey Reed, to such super-patriots as Gerald L. K. Smith, Carl Mote, Indiana utility magnate, a close friend of Gerald L. K. Smith and a contributor to his paper, *The Cross and the Flag*, John E. Waters, midwestern representative of Joseph Kamp of the Constitutional Educational League (see Chapter II). Other speakers were Miss Vivian Kellems, the Connecticut manufacturer who gained notoriety by advising fellow-Americans not to pay their income taxes, and A. H. Bond, a consulting engineer from Wisconsin, who said at a meeting of March 23, 1945: "I am glad to know that the majority of you are Christians because of what I am going to say . . ." Then he attacked the Roosevelt administration, the Allied war effort and said: "When a nation gets so rotten (referring to the United States)

so low, that nation must disappear."

At this meeting, Grace followed Bond on the platform and declared: "If the people of this country had enough courage they would not have obeyed H.R. 1776 (the lend-lease act) and there would have been a rebellion here . . . a little Lexington, and there probably wouldn't have been a war."

At that same meeting, Grace also said:

"We realize that life in the United States is jeopardized by Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his administration. They have done all they can to destroy this country that we love and are going to fight to keep alive . . . it looks like the mob spirit that prevails in the United States will be behind us in our work, and then we can expect some marvelous results and progress."

In the meantime, the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee contented itself with booming Colonel McCormick for President and with holding meetings which spread the gospel of "nationalism," which continue to stir up dissension and promote disunity in Chicago and which are the spawning ground of small-time fascist leaders who untiringly extend the network of fascism through the midwest.

Closely allied to the Grace committees is The Institute of American Economics, formerly known as the Midwest Monetary Federation. Two of the incorporators of the Institute, Otto Brennerman and Donald McDaniel, were indicted and stood trial in the Washington case for alleged sedition. Its forerunner, the Midwest Monetary Federation once employed the notorious fascist, Joe McWilliams (also a defendant in the Washington sedition trials) as "an elocution teacher," and advertised his nomination for that post in *Social Justice*. Ralph Franklin Keeling, aided by Willis Overholser, runs the "Institute." Keeling is the man who furnished McWilliams' cash bond when McWilliams was arrested by federal authorities for violating the Selective Service Act, on June 15, 1942.

The Institute holds its own meetings and also cooperates with the two Grace committees, and despite Keeling's known record he has been able to get even so-called "respectables" to address his group. Representative Clare Hoffman, for one,

appeared before the group. Keeling also has close ties with Mrs. Lyril Van Hying of We, The Mothers Mobilize for America (see Chapter VII).

This Van Hying outfit, in addition to its pro-fascist "momist" activities, is also a connecting link in the network between the Institute and The Constitutional Americans, whose headquarters are at 2607 Lawrence Avenue, Chicago. George T. Foster, leader of The Constitutional Americans, attended the Peace Convention sponsored by We, The Mothers Mobilize for America and in turn praised the "mothers" as "American Patriots." "The Mothers" have also frequently had Joe McWilliams as a guest speaker, have followed the pro-fascist Dilling line and have not only asked for a negotiated peace in 1944, but have also actively engaged in trying to sabotage the peace, insisting that "none but *Christians* should participate" in the peace conference.

Foster himself follows the Coughlinitic, anti-Semitic line, and his wife, Mary Leach, who works with him as one of the group leaders, was Elizabeth Dilling's secretary. Elizabeth Dilling has spoken frequently at The Constitutional Americans meetings. At one of them she told the audience that Franco is a nice "Christian man and that Roosevelt is a Communist controlled by the Jewish International bankers." She also revealed, at other meetings, that Franco's fascists had been very kind to her; having furnished her with a car and gasoline and "all special privileges."

The Constitutional Americans group itself has organized trips to Royal Oaks, Michigan, so that its loyal Coughlinitic followers could confer with Father Charles E. Coughlin. Though, in its recent literature, it has outstripped even the regular Coughlinites in ability to find Jews and Communists on every hand. It announced that Thomas E. Dewey had sold out to the Jews, the Communists and the "international Bankers."

"Tommy the Cantor," Foster calls Dewey, because the New York Governor once "was engaged to sing in a Jewish synagogue."

Crude as the Foster technique seems, it works with The Con-

stitutional Americans audiences. At one meeting, held at Kimball Hall on March 15, 1944, Foster held aloft "photostats" purporting to contain evidence that "Roosevelt is an international banker and is on the board of directors of a German bank."

At another Kimball Hall meeting, on January 31, 1945, he claimed that he "had a long talk with Senator O'Daniel in the Senator's apartment in Washington during the Inauguration."

The network spreads, from group to group. It doubles back, as on the occasion when Ralph Keeling introduced Joe McWilliams to Alice Rand de Tarnowsky, Chicago socialite. Mrs. de Tarnowsky at that time financed McWilliams in his organization of The Serviceman's Reconstruction Plan, the McWilliams bid for veteran support. The "Plan" offers each returning soldier \$7,800 in governments bonds—assuming that McWilliams becomes the government.

The McWilliams-de Tarnowsky axis published a booklet on the "Plan" and also issued a mimeographed newsletter, called *The Post-War Bulletin*. They held their own meetings and frequently attended Grace's rallies. But, judging by their literature and activities, they set their sights on the returning veterans whom they hoped to win into a fascist storm-troop set-up with nothing more than their fantastic promises.

Another speaker at the Grace meetings was George Washington Robnett, who runs the Church League of America. Robnett is a friend of Elizabeth Dilling and of Harry Jung of the American Vigilante Intelligence Federation. Robnett's principal campaign as executive secretary of the Church League and editor of its publication *News and Views*, is to fight "communists" whom he "finds" everywhere. Included in his roster of "communists" or communist-controlled "radicals" were the Dean of Canterbury, Leon Henderson and the late William Allen White. He even considers the Quakers "dangerous radicals."

At his own meetings, which attract large audiences, and at others at which he speaks, he also tells his audiences that this country is not a democracy and that democracy is undesirable.

There are active shuttles tying in the network. There are the kind who speak at Grace's meetings and those on a higher level who devote themselves to the "nationalist" line.

Frederick Kister holds meetings at which he gives "book reviews." His "reviews" are always about "communism" and its menace. Both Kister and his wife (who works for We, The Mothers Mobilize for America) are friends of Joe McWilliams and Alice de Tarnowsky. Both of them attend meetings of the Grace groups and The Constitutional Americans.

William H. Stuart, one time political advisor to William Randolph Hearst, runs Round Table Luncheons and edits a bulletin, *Heard and Seen*, which announces all the important "nationalist" meetings held in Chicago, plugs the right "nationalist" leaders and generally keeps the "nationalist" movement informed. Stuart has appeared on the platform of the Citizens U. S. A. Committee and his own group has been addressed at one of its noon luncheons by Congressman Paul Schafer, who then spoke that night at a Republican Nationalist Revival Committee meeting.

Albert P. Haake has addressed the Citizens U. S. A. Committee, but his own activities as head of the American Economic Foundation have been directed more toward warning the country of the dangers of democratic social gains. Haake's suave approach takes the line of ridiculing Henry Wallace for his "quart of milk a day" plan and then pleading that food be sent quickly to defeated Germany.

A more forthright outfit is the Anglo-Saxon Federation which has headquarters at 3069 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, and is run by A. S. Ackley. Official organ of the Federation is *Destiny* magazine, published in Haverhill, Mass., by Howard Rand.

The Federation has followed the anti-Semitic line in its house organ, has distributed copies of the phony *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, has plugged Major General George Van Horn Mosely, who was once put forward by the fascists for the role of American Fuehrer. Before the war, *Destiny* was anti-British and anti-Russian. It continues its abuse of democracy and Jews, and in a recent issue stated "... a democracy,

therefore, is a form of government in rebellion against God . . .”

Editor of *Destiny* is Howard B. Rand (see John Roy Carlson's *Under Cover*, pp. 208-9, 450). The name of William J. Cameron, voice of Henry Ford's Sunday Evening Hour and former editor of the anti-Semitic *Dearborn Independent*, once appeared on the masthead. Cameron was also formerly President of the Federation and Chairman of its Publication Committee.

On February 4, 1945, a man who was introduced as “Doctor” addressed a typical federation meeting. His topic was “Or-dained Arrows.” After a prayer, he began to speak. Selecting excerpts from both the Old and New Testaments, he interpreted present-day events and declared. “Hitler and Mussolini were ordained by God to punish the tribe of Judah for their wrong doings on earth.” Then quoting from the Bible that the “ordained are to have the power of roaring sea and swiftness of light,” he interpreted this to mean that Hitler's blitzkrieg was ordained by God. He went on to say that “England and America and other Judah nations have come to the aid of Judah by declaring war on Germany and Italy.” The meeting closed with hymns!

At 30 North La Salle Street in Chicago is the Gentile Co-operative Association, run by Eugene R. Flitcraft. This group was started some time in January, 1944, officially dedicated to a “Gentile Peace,” a “Buy Christian” campaign and the returning of “Gentile” servicemen to their old jobs.

Flitcraft is no novice in the field of publicity. He has been associated with several advertising and publishing firms. *Gentile News*, the official organ of the Association, is very cleverly handled. It cannot be accused of anti-Semitism. But in a strange kind of reverse anti-Semitic double-talk it gets its point across. It urges “Gentile” ownership and control of business, civic, social and cultural groups. It announced that the first issue of the *Gentile Business Directory* has appeared. Potential members of the Association are asked to sign a long statement which says, in part:

“I believe all GENTILE interests may best be

Gentile News

Published in the Interest of More Than 125,000,000 Gentiles in the United States.

VOL. 1

MARCH, 1945

NUMBER 12

PLEA FOR "DEFENSE FUND"

DEMOCRAT ASKS FRANKFURTER IMPEACHMENT

We thought, perhaps, the good American patriotic Gentiles of this nation would be interested in this article that ran in the daily press on February 26th. We are quoting, verbatim, the article as it appeared in the Chicago Tribune of that date written by Willard Edwards of the Chicago Tribune Press Service as follows:

**Impeachment of Frankfurter
Sought in House . . .**

MONEY FOR APPEAL BEFORE SUPREME COURT

We need money. We need it badly. The Jews want us to raise it. The Anti-Gentile factions force us to raise money. For what? Well we need it to appeal our fight to an Illinois State Charter before the Illinois Supreme Court by April 1, 1945.

One prominent law firm wanted \$5,000 to handle the case. Other law firms have volunteered to handle it for less. But we prefer to stick to our money.

The anti-Semitic Gentile News, official paper of The Gentile Cooperative Association, headed by Eugene Flitcraft,

follows the usual line of such outfits: If we can't have our own way, the Jews must be to blame.

served with a GENTILE peace after victory is won by the United States. I believe my GENTILE interests will best be served by helping return GENTILE servicemen back to their old jobs or new ones equally as fine. I believe my GENTILE interest will best be served by my boosting my worthy fellow GENTILE. I believe my GENTILE interest will best be served by boosting GENTILE products," etc., etc.

In May, 1945, *PM* disclosed that the mailing lists of the American Beauty Products Co., 2228 N. Racine Avenue, Chicago, had been used for the distribution of two "inflammatory anti-Semitic publications, the *Gentile News*, a monthly tabloid of hate against the Jews, published by Eugene Flitcraft, and the *Jew Refugee*, the product of a virulent Jew-baiter, Ainslee E. Horney."

PM further reported that the pamphlets were received by beauty parlors throughout the country during the same periods as literature for the company's products.

It is an interesting commentary on the ethics of the company that on May 21, 1945, the Federal Trade Commission disclosed that the company had entered into a stipulation to refrain from making false claims for its vitamin compounds.

PM reported that:

"The company's stipulation with the FTC says that American Beauty Products will cease from representing that its anti-grey hair and nail vitamins can restore the natural color of hair, enable one to get rid of gray hair, improve the texture of the skin, the elasticity of the fingernails or the complexion; that gray hair is a sign of vitamin deficiencies or that the vitamin method of restoring natural color to the hair has been successful in 88 per cent of cases."

Riddled as Chicago is with the "nationalist" movements, with the network of outright fascists and the "fringe groups" which encourage them, the city of Chicago is still not the greatest danger spot in the Midwest Redoubt. To Chicago, as speakers for the Citizens U. S. A. Committee and similar outfits, come rabble-rousers and leaders of other, and worse, groups from Detroit.

Their activities have made Detroit a spot to watch, a city boiling with the elements of dissension and strife, which may burst into explosion at any moment.

Even a year and two years ago the implications of the Detroit fascist movements had affected our national life and security.

When American soldiers in the Pacific stormed the ramparts of Manila, wrested the city from the Japs and brought it once again under the Stars and Stripes, they got many a hearty laugh as they read old copies of Tokyo-controlled Manila newspapers which they found amid the shambles of war.

The Manila press, under Jap domination, had made great efforts to win over the Filipino population. What amused the Yanks were the accounts in some of these papers which soberly reported that the U. S. Pacific fleet lay at the bottom of the Pacific and that San Francisco had been bombed.

But there was one story which did not amuse them. There were old copies of Manila papers with banner headlines reporting the bloody riots of Detroit in June, 1943. There were pictures of the rioting, which the Japs had smuggled out of the United States—and there was one picture, familiar to American newspaper readers, which the Japs played particularly strongly. It showed a mob of white rioters clubbing a bleeding Negro to his knees.

In the Jap-controlled papers throughout the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere that picture was worth more than years of propaganda activities, more than millions in gold to the Japanese High Command.

When American troops were blasting their way through the Rhineland in the Spring of 1945, they picked up thousands of leaflets left behind by the Nazis bearing the same photograph. The Nazis aimed this leaflet propaganda particularly at Negro troops.

The people of America, too, were aroused by the Detroit riots. The citizens of Detroit and Michigan themselves felt an investigation was in order. There were two: one by a special four-man committee set up by Governor Harry Kelly and the other by the Detroit Bureau of the FBI. Neither could find

that any particular organizations or individuals had any responsibility for the rioting.

But many a citizen of Detroit knew that actual "rehearsals" for the June, 1943, riots had taken place earlier, during clashes between Negro tenants of the Sojourner Truth, low-cost housing project and armed whites, who were later shown to have acted under leadership of the fifth-column National Workers League and known Klansmen.

The June rioting is symptomatic of the situation in Detroit, a forewarning of what may happen soon again in America's arsenal city. For the same forces which worked up a riotous frenzy among a dangerously large section of Detroit's citizenry by their unending barrage of fifth-column, race-hate literature and disguised Klan meetings is still operating in Detroit, day in and day out, around the clock!

And, contrary to the opinion of many Americans who have followed the treacherous activities of America's fifth column, the danger in Detroit does not come primarily from the operations of the two best-known Detroit fascists, Gerald L. K. Smith and Father Coughlin.

These two have no sizeable mass following in the city. Smith is better known in Chicago and in cities such as Buffalo and Baltimore. Coughlin's mass strength is in the East, in New York, in Brooklyn, in Boston, in Philadelphia and westwards through Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

They are considered in this chapter because they use Detroit as an operational base. At the present writing Father Coughlin is contenting himself with building up the strength and finances of the Church of the Little Flower (which also has been so helpful indirectly in building up the fortune of the Coughlin family) and with enrolling servicemen in his Guild of St. Sebastian.

The St. Sebastian activity is significant for the postwar political force it could easily become and because of the possibilities the Guild offers for a powerful postwar pressure group. This is discussed in Chapter VIII.

Gerald L. K. Smith, on the other hand, has not ceased his open activities and his latest move was to sponsor the first

REV. CHAS. E. COUGHLIN
ROYAL OAK, MICHIGAN

October 20, 1942

Staff Sgt.
Camp Lee, Va.

My dear Sgt.,

You are better aware than I am of the solicitude your friends entertain for your welfare.

Because of this solicitude, your name was sent to me with the request that we at the Shrine say some prayers for your safety.

So here is the story: At the Shrine there is a beautiful altar dedicated to St. Sebastian, the patron of soldiers. The names of all the boys in the army, navy or air service -- that is the names sent to me -- are printed legibly and fastened to the marble walls of St. Sebastian's altar. Every Tuesday a Mass is said for the safekeeping of these men. Every day thousands of school children and others are asked to pray for that same cause.

I thought you would like to know about this, namely, that we stay-at-homes recognize the sacrifices and danger that are yours; and that we are praying for you with all our might.

God bless and preserve you!

Cordially yours,

Charles E. Coughlin

CEC:MG

P.S. If there are any other men in your outfit who want us to enroll their names at St. Sebastian's altar, feel free to send them along, together with address of nearest relative.

Father Charles E. Coughlin began concentrating his attention upon servicemen back in 1941 and 1942 after he formed an organization known as the St. Sebastian Brigade, later changed to the St. Sebastian Guild. The above letter illustrates his method of recruiting within the armed forces as far back as October, 1942. Obviously, Father Coughlin also has his post-war plans.

open amalgamation of heretofore "independent" fascist organizations and leaders.

Early in 1945, Gerald L. K. Smith, who has never masked his ambitions, trumpeted a call for united action. It was in the form of a letter headed:

A CALL TO THE BRAVE—THIS IS OUR OPPORTUNE MOMENT

Addressing the recipients as "Dear Fellow Americans," Smith stated: "... Today Nationalism is stronger than it has ever been before." Then, after citing as proof of this that the "Internationalists are desperate" because they realize that Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt have all blundered and that if the Atlantic Charter is a fake (who had so denounced it?) that no agreements similar to it could be trusted, Smith launched into the real message. He continued:

"I have been in conversation with a member of the U. S. Senate who believes that we should demand of our President and our State Department a complete definition of war aims and peace aims. We are rapidly becoming the most hated people on earth.

"I have contacted important Nationalists all over the United States in and out of Congress. They are willing to cooperate with me in a strategic program demanding that the real purpose of this war be explained satisfactorily.

"If the President and the State Department, in cooperation with the Senate cannot give a satisfactory explanation of the purpose and aims of this war, then our boys should be brought home alive, immediately.

"If we swallow this fakery (referring to the Atlantic Charter) then there is no hope. But I have encouragement for you. The pot is boiling in Washington as it has not boiled in years. Men like U. S. Senator Burton K. Wheeler are prepared to *blow off the lid* and demand a show-down.

"I am not interested in hearing from weaklings and cowards, but I say to you, if true Nationalists will stand with me now, we can win within the next 60 to 90 days a Nationalist victory, which may last for 25 years. If I can raise the money to finance the mildest

When the

WAR IS OVER

YOU MAY LOSE YOUR JOB

WHAT WILL YOU DO?

Warning!

International politicians from all over the world are now in Washington trying to persuade Congress to finance the world. It is up to every good American to see to it that our National Treasury is not raided to satisfy the post-war ambitions of the International Bankers, the International Politicians, and the alien-minded conspirators. **AMERICANS COME FIRST. WE MUST BE FOR AMERICA FIRST.**

If These Alien Looters Are Successful...

There will be no money left to take care of the Veterans and the unemployed during the emergency. Wire or write your Congressman, insisting that he consider the welfare of American workers and American Veterans first.

The America First Crusade Advocates...

1. \$1000 cash to every Veteran when mustered out, plus unemployment benefits until he gets a job.
2. \$100. to \$200 per month for every unemployed worker's family during the period of readjustment.

Do Not Be Deceived...

Foreign propagandists will tell you all sorts of lies about the America First Party and its national leader, Gerald L. K. Smith. Why do so many vicious forces fight Smith and the America first Crusade? It is because he and his followers believe that American workers and American Veterans will be more important than the citizens of any foreign country when this war is over.

The enemies of America hate Gerald L. K. Smith and his followers because the America First Crusade advocates bringing our boys home after this war is over instead of keeping them on the foreign battlefields to police the world for the benefit of the International Bankers.

At this very moment the International Bankers are drawing up a program which, if adopted would turn billions and billions and billions of dollars over to foreign countries after this war. **THESE BILLIONS MUST BE SAVED FOR OUR AMERICAN WORKERS AND OUR AMERICAN VETERANS.**

Cold Facts...

The day the European war ends, from 10 to 20 million Americans will lose their jobs. Thus, far nothing has been done to meet this crisis.

We All Want Jobs...

But if unemployment does come, we must not permit the Internationalists to loot our public treasury and leave our people to starve.

A sample of the dissensionist propaganda issued by Gerald L. K. Smith's America First Party. This particular job is a large paper poster, designed to be tacked up in meeting halls and in public places. Notice the headline. From a few feet away the one prominent line is, "War Is Over." This poster was issued at the height of the conflict against Hitler's Germany.

plans I have in mind we can bring high pressure to bear on every important Congressional Committee involved in this fight, and we can accomplish the following victories:

1. Defeat the Dumbarton Oaks conspiracy as pre-digested and handed to us by the British and the Russians.

2. Defeat the plan for an International Police Force.

3. Defeat the scheme of the British to continue Lend Lease after the war and make us the tax-slaves of their Empire.

4. Defeat the scheme to get us into a sort of Super State, equivalent to rejoining the British Empire.

5. Obtain a satisfactory outline of peace aims from the U. S. Senate which will put America First.

6. Result: If we accomplish the above, and I believe we can, it will save our country 100 billion dollars and the lives of a million of our boys.

Here's my plan:

1. I want to call a conference immediately of leading Nationalists from all over the U. S. to meet in some central point for the purpose of planning this fight.

2. We will form an emergency committee.

3. I will visit the proper members of both Houses of Congress, while at the same time we will place literature and enlightening information in their hands.

4. We will inspire radio programs.

5. We will inspire Nationalists to write their Congressmen and Senators.

6. We will urge that meetings be held all over the U. S."

The letter wound up with a long appeal for funds to help finance this meeting and instructed that contributions were to be sent to:

Gerald L. K. Smith
America First Crusade
Post Office Box 459
Detroit 31, Michigan

Obviously Smith was optimistic. The next 60 or even 90 days did not bring any "nationalist victory" but a man who is asking for money is likely to take a little leeway. What did happen afterward, however, has far greater significance, and is more interesting.

On February 14, 1945, Smith sent out a letter, inviting recipients to a meeting in the Jade Ballroom of the Detroit-Leland Hotel on February 26, 1945, at 8 o'clock to hear a Dean E. Smith, recently returned from the Orient, who "believes that the Bretton Woods Conference was a conspiracy to steal America's money. He believes that the Dumbarton Oaks Conference was a conspiracy to steal American liberty."

The letter went on to state:

"... the meeting is part of the strategy of the National Emergency Committee in preparing to fight the legislative program of the Internationalists in Washington. There is much to do and time will not wait."

The letterhead on which this appeared was headed:

National Emergency Committee
A Mobilization of Nationalists for the Preservation
of American Sovereignty
Post Office Box 697 Detroit 31, Michigan

and it listed under the heading: "Advisory," the following names—which are identified here for the reader. Mr. Smith, of course, did not bother to include the biographical background.

Carl H. Mote, 5685 Central Avenue, Indianapolis, Indiana, who has been publishing the monthly anti-Semitic, anti-democratic magazine *America Preferred*. Mote first became active in the pro-fascist movement in 1939 when his book, *The New Deal Goose Step* was published and won the praise of Gerald Winrod, Charles Hudson and James True, all named in the Washington indictments for alleged sedition. Mote also wrote for William Dudley Pelley's *Roll Call*. Pelley, leader of the Silver Shirts, was convicted of sedition and jailed shortly after Pearl Harbor. Mote is President of the Northern Indiana Telephone Company and Commonwealth Telephone Corporation.

George T. Foster, 2607 Lawrence Avenue, Chicago, Illinois,

director of The Constitutional Americans, an openly Coughlinite and anti-Semitic group.

Mrs. David Stanley and Mrs. Sue Braun who are president and secretary of "United Mothers of America," Cleveland, Ohio, which continued to demand a peace with the enemy up until the Nazis' final, shattering defeat. Mrs. Stanley was one of Mrs. Dilling's lieutenants in the March on Washington, held by the Mothers' groups in 1941 against the Lend-Lease Bill. Smith's publication, *The Cross and The Flag* for October, 1944, said Mrs. Stanley gave "one of the finest American First speeches" she ever heard at Smith's America First convention, held in August, 1944, in Detroit.

Charles Madden and Mrs. Marie Lohle direct the "Defenders of George Washington Principles" of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, which issues pamphlets warning against the dangers of "World Government" schemes of the "fourth termers and New Deal Socialists." Gerald Smith calls Madden "One of the pillars of the America First Party."

Harvey H. Springer, who publishes the Fundamentalist *Western Voice* from Englewood, Colorado, is an old friend of Gerald Winrod, the Kansas pro-Nazi under indictment for alleged sedition to overthrow the government, and was active in raising funds for the defense of Winrod and his co-defendants.

Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, notorious fascist, also a defendant in the 1945 Washington sedition trial. A well-known veteran leader of the "Mothers" and "Womens" groups in the United States.

Ruben Rindler, Greenville, Ohio, a leader in the Farmers Guild, reactionary agricultural group headed by Carl Mote. Along with other leaders of the Guild in the Greenville area, such as Harry Romer and James Mannix, Rindler helped organize a meeting for Gerald L. K. Smith at the county fairgrounds, June 3, 1944. Although fairground officials refused permission to use the grounds if Smith spoke, the farmers took matters into their own hands and Smith reported he spoke before 7,000 people. Smith and other leaders were then invited to the Rindler home.

Mrs. Flo Scriver of Minneapolis, friend of the Silver Shirts and of William Dudley Pelley.

Emma Wacker, Garner, Iowa, is a "crusader" for "constitutional money" and a "prohibitionist." She used to write letters explaining her views to *Publicity*, the editor of which was indicted for alleged sedition. Last year she attended the America First Party Convention in Detroit.

Joseph Stoffel, president of the Economics League, Buffalo, N. Y., one of the money "reform" groups in the country. He is a follower of Coughlin, and in a leaflet distributed by the League, cites Coughlin as one of his sources. Stoffel presided at an America First Party meeting, held in Buffalo, May 24, 1945, at which Gerald L. K. Smith spoke.

S. O. Sanderson, Rochester, Minnesota, another money reform advocate. He writes for the magazine, *Money*, edited by John G. Scott in New York, on the need for "constitutional money." Prior to Pearl Harbor, Sanderson wrote letters to Coughlin which were published in *Social Justice*, denouncing the international bankers and the warmakers. He is currently distributing the pamphlet by

T. W. Hughes, *Forty Years of Roosevelt*. These pamphlets have recently been distributed by Mrs. Stanley's "United Mothers of America." One of the original group which helped to set up Smith's first rally in St. Paul-Minneapolis, Sanderson also was present and spoke on monetary reform at the America First Party Convention in Detroit in August, 1944.

Ralph Baerman was head of the Resolution Committee, which drew up the platform at the America First Party Convention in August, 1944, in Detroit. Baerman has spoken for the Citizens U. S. A. Committee.

Catherine V. Brown and Mrs. Lillian Parks, leaders of the "National Blue Star Mothers of America," which has headquarters in Philadelphia. See Chapter VII.

Mary E. Kenny, 1746 Harwood Street, Lincoln, Nebraska, friend of Gerald Smith. She announced in the summer of 1944 that she was forming the "Women of America," with a platform described by Smith as "full of old-fashioned crusading, God-guided Americanism."

L. L. Marion, pastor of the Christian Temple of Pontiac, Michigan, of which Gerald L. K. Smith is a member. He is a frequent speaker for Smith's meetings and was Smith's America First Party candidate for Governor of Michigan in the 1944 elections.

Mrs. Rufus Holman of Oregon, wife of the ex-Senator Holman who was defeated in the 1944 spring primaries for renomination. She was formerly married to the late Senator Lundeen of Minnesota who was chairman of two pro-Nazi-propaganda organizations, "Make Europe Pay War Debts Committee," and the "Islands for War Debts Committee," both financed by Nazi agent George Sylvester Viereck. Many of Lundeen's speeches were also written

by Viereck. When she was Mrs. Lundeen, she made speaking tours with Smith, defending her husband's activities and Smith reprinted them in his *Cross and Flag*.

Charles J. Anderson, Jr. ran for Congress in the Sixth Chicago Congressional district last November on a platform against the "bolshevistic wild-eyed planners in Washington" and to "bring the boys back home." He was enthusiastically endorsed and supported by Mrs. Dilling and the *Women's Voice*. Although he ran as a Republican, that party repudiated him and he was defeated. Mrs. Dilling claimed it was the Jews who were responsible for his defeat.

Harry Romer of St. Henry, Ohio, Gerald Smith's candidate for the Vice-Presidency in the 1944 elections.

Donald J. McDaniel, a Chicago dentist who was indicted for alleged sedition in 1942. He is a friend of Mrs. Dilling and other leaders of the pro-fascist groups, and his anti-Semitic cartoons were widely known and distributed by them.

George Vose, America First Party candidate for Lt. Governor in the State of Michigan last November. He is a veteran of World War II and directs his attention to veteran support for Smith's policies and activities. See Chapter VIII.

Almond G. Blanchard, America First Party candidate for Auditor General of Michigan.

Kenneth Goff, now of Englewood, Colorado, disciple of Rev. Harvey Springer, calls himself an ex-Communist who has seen the light and now exposes Communists. A violent anti-Semite, popular with the Fundamentalist crowd of Klan-minded preachers. Has spoken for the Citizen U.S.A. Committee of Chicago and has worked with Gerald L. K. Smith in the past.

Mrs. Lillian Fiss, head of the "Mothers of Minnesota," a professional "momist" outfit.

There is no record of their meeting, but investigators of their activities who long had suspected that such groups and individuals worked together will welcome this evidence of it. Many of these people have gone to great trouble to mask their activities and associations, have denied and attempted to disprove that they have any connections.

But here is the list of "advisors" now leagued together. They have not accomplished any 90-day "victory." It is doubt-

ful that they ever expected they would. What is certainly not doubtful, however, is that their joining together in a committee and their working together presents an ominous portent, which cannot safely be overlooked by those who cherish American democracy.

Taken as a whole, these people have been the source of more hate-mongering than perhaps any other group in the nation's history. From the headquarters of Smith, Anderson, Mote, Foster, Dilling, Springer, Brown and Parks there have poured tens of thousands of "hate sheets," stirring Gentile against Jew; American against Briton and Russian; voter against government; and class against class. They have individually, and occasionally in pairs, toured the country spreading the gospel of dissension, assailing American and allied unity, creating friction where unity was necessary to the country's security.

If war did not stop them, certainly peace will not. The fuses are sputtering all over America. Watch these!

Above all, watch Gerald L. K. Smith, who is bending every effort to become the spearhead of the Nationalist movement. Smith is a clever opportunist. Wherever he sees an opening he insinuates himself and his movement.

As recently as May, 1945, while the San Francisco conference was still in session, Smith invited delegates to attend an attempted meeting in the grand ballroom of the Mark Hopkins Hotel in San Francisco to hear a speech on "American Nationalism."

And in a publicity release concerning the proposed meeting, Smith tried to put pressure on Senator Arthur Vandenburg of Michigan, who will be up for reelection in the Fall of 1946, by stating in his press release:

"The most important man in this conference is United States Senator Arthur Vandenberg. He holds the key to the approval of the proposed charter because it cannot be approved without the minority party. I know Mr. Vandenberg well and personally.

We are good friends. I know his constituents in Michigan, which include four major factors. They are:

1. The large Finnish population of the upper peninsula.
2. The large Polish population.
3. The strength of the Catholic Church, a large percent of whom are disciples of the Rev. Father Charles E. Coughlin.
4. My enrolled followers in Michigan."

Do not underestimate Item 4. Smith's enrolled followers may be large— and growing more numerous every day. For Gerald L. K. Smith is a powerful orator, a keen organizer and by playing every angle of dissension he tries to win to his following any group that is currently dissatisfied. He claimed in May, 1945, that he was the spokesman for twenty-one "national organizations," and that he was observer at the San Francisco Conference for eighty-one national periodicals.

He felt powerful enough then (during the San Francisco conference) to imply quite plainly to Senator Vandenberg what the price would be for Smith's support in Michigan. His press release further stated:

"Mr. Vandenberg knows as well as I do that if he returns to his constituents next year with a record of having approved the savagery of Russia, the Imperialism of Britain, and the secret deals of Yalta, his constituents in Michigan will retire him from public life."

Senator Vandenberg was one of the key figures in the American delegation. It was generally understood that he was the un-named spokesman for the minority party in the United States. It was generally agreed, even before the conference that Senator Vandenberg's support was necessary to get any agreement through the U. S. Senate.

Only Smith himself really knows how much strength his movement has in Michigan. Only Smith knows how greatly it extends throughout the country and how much power he can muster.

But the blunt fact is that Gerald L. K. Smith does have and is building national support, that on an issue of his choosing he can rally forces behind him. He is working hard to increase

those forces. How fast they grow in postwar America depends on two factors: Gerald L. K. Smith himself and how much the people of America know about him.

The Heart of the Redoubt

The American public has always been prone to forget quickly, and too often, to forgive as well. There are probably few in America today who remember much about the activities of the Black Legion, which tarnished Detroit's name back in the early 1930's.

Yet when the blow-off came, the revelations of the Black Legion's terrorization of Negroes, its thuggery employed against trade unionists, and its brutal murder of victims, shocked the country. Scores of Black Legionnaires were convicted and sentenced. The findings of the grand jury sitting on the case, and the subsequent criminal court trial of the defendants proved, by a mass of irrefutable evidence, that the Black Legion was Klan-inspired and Klan-led.

Then the country proceeded to forget about the Black Legion.

Today, in Detroit, there is another Black Legion in the making. Tomorrow, aided and abetted by disruptionists, sowers of disunity and hatred, by the fascist forces at work throughout the country, it could be worse than the Black Legion. It could, conceivably, tear America apart.

There is Klan propaganda disseminated in Detroit and though the Klan itself is not in evidence, it is back doing business, thinly disguised by other names. Let us see how it works.

On March 19, 1943, an organization known as The United Sons of America was incorporated in Detroit, by E. E. Maxey. Mr. Maxey is its current president. He is also a veteran Klansman. Personal data on Mr. Maxey is that, at this writing, he resides at 4409 Lincoln Street, Detroit, and is employed by the Ford Motor Company in its Service Department, under Harry Bennett, who has never been marked as an outstanding friend of labor.

Secretary-Treasurer of the United Sons of America is another old-time Klansman, David Cole, of 2224 Springwell Street, Detroit. Vice-President is Howard Clark, 5355 Pacific Street, Detroit.

"Front man" and full-time official of the United Sons of America is burly Harvey Hanson, who runs the headquarters at 89 West Forest Street. Here the organization occupies a 20-room building from which streams a steady outpouring of leaflets, handbills and obscene doggerel aimed at influencing Detroit's workers.

Back in the 1930's investigators of the Michigan Klan estimated that the Klan had an active membership of 30,000. Hanson, a six-foot blond grey-eyed and weighing 220 pounds, boasts that as many members belong to the United Sons of America today, though he is cagey about presenting proof of his assertions.

Considering certain incidents of the past few years in Detroit, one is inclined to back Hanson's figure. Certainly there are at least enough active U. S. of A. members to shake Detroit when they set to it.

In February, 1942, the first "rehearsals" during wartime for the bloody race riots of June 21-22, 1943, took place in Detroit when mobs of armed whites attacked Negro tenants attempting to move into the low-cost housing project known as the Sojourner Truth houses. There were clashes then which resulted in numerous casualties, mostly among Negroes. Arrested and subsequently indicted were leaders of a Klan-minded outfit, named the National Workers League.

Following the indictments Klan activities subsided for a while. Under the hammer blows of Federal prosecution, the National Workers League "disappeared."

Then the formation of the United Sons of America took place.

In June, 1943, a series of strikes broke out in the automotive plants manufacturing war supplies. The most serious one was a walkout affecting 20,000 workers of the Packard Motor Company. White production workers in the Packard aircraft engine division walked off the job when three Negro mechanics were

upgraded to machine jobs. The tie-up which resulted was a staggering blow to aircraft production precisely at the time when planes were desperately needed in the Pacific.

R. J. Thomas, one of the most responsible trade union officials in the country, international President of the United Automobile Workers, after investigating the incident, publicly stated:

"I came into possession of further and absolute evidence that the strike at Packard Motor Company, one of the most shameful exhibitions of this war, was in fact actively promoted, organized and carried out by agents of the Ku Klux Klan or its successor body in Detroit." (The only "successor body" then in existence was the United Sons of America.) Mr. Thomas further declared that he also had evidence "of a formal invitation to Klansmen in Packard's signed by the Excelled-Cyclops and by mandate of the Imperial Wizard to a meeting early in April . . ." and that the evidence "convinces me that enemy agents are using this nightshirt Axis to do their work in the Arsenal of Democracy."

"Transcripts giving names and other evidence" were turned over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation," Mr. Thomas added.

Two weeks later the race riots broke out in all their fury. Damage: Detroit's vital war industries tied up. Dead, 35 persons. Property damage, hundreds of thousands of dollars. Result: A sickening blow to the morale of America's loyal Negro population and some excellent propaganda material for the use of America's enemies in both the Pacific and European theatres of war. Significance: It can happen here.

The Klan in Detroit's Pulpits

One of the phenomena of the vast Detroit war production center since the city took over the major task of producing heavy war weapons in 1940, was the mushroom growth of what investigators have come to call the "hell-fire preachers" group. Many of the "hell-fire preachers" are Klan-minded propagan-

dists shielding themselves under the cloak of religion. In the main they pretend Fundamental Baptism, but they are not to be confused with loyal, patriotic Baptist groups. The Northern Baptist Conference has disowned them, and the "hell-fire" pulpитеers have formed their own organizations.

They have flourished in Detroit partially because the city attracted hundreds of thousands of workers from the midwest agricultural states and the south since it began to work on war production and these people, uneducated and with a background of earnest belief in "preachin" were susceptible to the rantings of the Klan.

A survey of the "hell-fire preachers" during the early part of 1944 indicated that some 2,000 of them were peddling their dangerous doctrines in ornate church structures and rented stores. Their resources vary, but their doctrine is commonly dangerous. Sometimes it is difficult to ascertain in what camp a particular preacher belongs. For example, there is:

Reverend Frank Norris, pastor of the Free Temple Baptist Church located at the busy intersection of 14th Street and Marquette Avenue, Detroit. Norris is a power in Detroit politics because his congregation is huge, numbering something over 10,000.

His "sermons" are highly provocative and vary from baiting the Negro to baiting those whom he describes as "bad Jews." Investigators who gathered some of the material for this book attended several of Norris's frenzied sermons. They left with a feeling of alarm and respect for his polished demagoguery. Actually he has occasionally descended from the polished technique, and has twice been banned from the air for using the term "nigger."

There is also the Rev. C. E. Rollins, at the Metropolitan Tabernacle, in Detroit, Michigan. On the Sunday after the Detroit riots which so disgraced America and so badly crippled war production, Rollins announced his sermon topic in the Detroit News. It was: "7:30 p.m. K.K.K."

In his message Rollins stated:

"I am not a member of the Klan, I have never been

a member of the Klan, I have never sat in a Klan meeting; I have no contact with the Klan but I have the platform of the Klan before me and I challenge anyone to refute it . . . the Klan stands for Christian principles . . . the Klan stands for sanctity of womanhood . . . the Klan stands for a 100% united America . . . I am against R. J. Thomas and his crowd. They are afraid they will lose their power over the unions to such organizations as the Klan."

With such propaganda openly spoken in the Detroit area it is not surprising that Klan interests flourish there—and it is significant that such a statement is tied in with outright anti-union sentiment.

"Cowboy Evangelist" Harvey Springer, while not a resident of Detroit, is a frequent visitor to Detroit pulpits and has been a guest sermonizer for Norris, Hopkins and often, as well, for Gerald L. K. Smith's affairs. He is a member of Smith's National Emergency Committee.

The "hell-fire" crowd aids, prods and abets the Klan element in the city (which menaces the already delicately-balanced race relations in Detroit) and is a thorn in the side of the decent, sincere clergy. And the Klan group, prompted by the "hell-fire" preachers, is doing its share to keep America's first industrial city in the danger zone.

Throughout the midwest there are other groups, some openly allied to Gerald L. K. Smith, which are carrying on the work of disruption, undermining and hate-spreading. In Detroit itself, though it seems to have no ties with other Detroit outfits, is an organization with the curious name of Christocrats. Under the guise of spreading "Republicanism," or "Political Christianity for the Republican Party" it distributes anti-Semitic (and before his death, anti-Roosevelt, anti-New Deal) propaganda. It has a post office box address, 3304 Jefferson Station, Detroit 14, Michigan, and also operates (secretly, its leaders think) from two other Detroit addresses a costly house located at 644 Parker Street and from nearby 732 Van Dyke Street.

Kingpin of the Christocrats is Claude B. Smith, dark-complexioned, muscular, curly-haired. On occasion, Mr. Smith

works at the Sterling Engineering Company at St. Clair Shores, Detroit. The greater part of his waking hours, however, is devoted to lectures and organizational work among his Christocrats. The size of his membership is not known, but regular meetings are held at the 732 Van Dyke Street house, attended mostly by middle-aged women.

Aside from the anti-labor, anti-New Deal doggerel, Christocrat literature favors the technique of twisting quotations to fit another context, as in quoting Henry A. Wallace's "Democracy is the only true political expression of Christianity," and then continuing on its own tack:

"If you believe what Mr. Wallace says is true, then you should agree that the administration of government in our American Democracy should be left entirely in the hands of Christians—as they are the only ones who understand and believe in Christian Principles of Government."

In Indianapolis, Carl Mote, already mentioned as one of the Smith National Emergency Committee "advisors" edits the magazine *America Preferred*, which once published this remarkable statement:

"It is entirely fitting and proper to consign to hell anyone who breathes the word 'democracy' or palavers about the 'democratic way of life' . . .

"I say *fie* on all the melodrama that exalts the so-called 'rights of minorities.' I say *fie* on all this hypocritical and maudlin jargon about 'social equality.'"

In Kansas, Gerald Winrod, whose activities have so frequently been exposed, who was named in the Washington indictment for alleged sedition and who is notoriously pro-fascist still continues his activities. And they are, even at this writing, extensive enough to require the services of from ten to 25 clerical assistants.

In Wichita, Reverend Arthur Wilson, a free-lance "evangelist" who describes himself as a "Fundamentalist Baptist" presides at the Church of the First Baptist at 3rd and Cleveland. Wilson is openly anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic, and has given

such lectures as "Who Will Rule the World—The Jew or the Gentile." In Wichita, Wilson is considered "wilder than Winrod."

But such minor operators do not constitute a major threat either to American unity, or to democracy in America. They comprise, in the aggregate, a menacing influence because they make a contribution toward stirring up racial hatred, class antagonisms and distrust of the government by its people. They are something of a danger because, though small organizationally, they do reach a number of people who are influenced by them and then go on to the more dangerous and larger outfits. They act sometimes as "feeders" in the belt line that often begins with disgruntlement and ends with flaming fascism.

On the other hand, a healthy American democracy can flourish even with such cancer spots. What does endanger it, what does constitute a present menace and a future threat is not these fringe groups, but the shrewd, well-financed organizers, the planners and plotters against American democracy who work together, who understand how to inflame hatreds and distrust and antagonisms until they burst into the fire that may set off the explosion.

HOPE AND DANGER IN THE WEST

SINCE the outbreak of the war, there have been two factors which present some hope that fascist activity along America's West Coast will not increase. One is that the shock of Pearl Harbor alarmed and put on guard the residents of that section. Fascist or disruptionist activity was obviously a civil danger. The people were in no mood to gamble with their own safety.

The other is perhaps even more important. West Coast war industry attracted skilled as well as unskilled labor and trade unions brought this labor into their membership. One of the surest antidotes for fascism is trade unionism. And the trade unions, notably the CIO, adopted as part of their policy, the education of their members to the danger fascism presents.

Organizationally, the fifth columnists, the disruptionist sowers of class hatred, race hatred and disunity, did not fare well. But there has been, and there is, danger on the Pacific.

A surprising number of the more virulent hate sheets originate there. And from the west coast they spread throughout the country working their poison into any number of channels. They are used, of course, by organizations and they are distributed by agencies which do not, for various reasons, want to publish such propaganda openly. Thus, they have secondary organizational support and they get their work done.

The best way to assay these hate sheets is to see them yourself. A number of them are reproduced in a later chapter. They are as dangerous as the extent of their circulation. And the fact that they are available to so-called "respectable" organizations which can distribute them widely without taking complete responsibility for their publication makes them an insidious force, easily employed against American unity and democracy.

The hate sheets do not, of course, have the propaganda field to themselves. Even in wartime, there are other individuals and groups on the West Coast, also planning and building; looking toward the future.

One such is John Hoeppel of Arcadia, California. Mr. Hoeppel is a former congressman and as late as August 28, 1944, still used after his name, the designation, "Formerly Member of Congress, 12th Dist. of Calif."

He does not mention, of course, that he was ousted from Congress for selling West Point appointments.

He is now publisher of a monthly paper called *National Defense*, which specializes in disseminating, along with some news (mostly angled at veterans) a great many curious ideas.

In its April, 1945 issue, for instance, there appears this item:

"HOSPITAL SHIPS AND MORE HOSPITAL SHIPS"

"At present we have twenty-four vessels which are operating in the Pacific and Atlantic to bring home wounded soldiers. Five more ships are to be converted into hospital ships, thus making the total of twenty-nine ships for the purpose of bringing home *wounded and maimed* American youth.

"If, as Admiral Sterling states, the war with the Japs is to continue for another four years, it is not difficult to visualize the hundreds of thousands of American youths who will take passage on these twenty-nine ships which, no doubt, as we approach closer to China, will be supplemented by *many other* vessels of similar character.

"We have no record of any hospital ships bringing back maimed, or combat wounded Englishmen from the Pacific war area—ONLY Americans."

Sprinkled in with such defeatist bits are gripes about taxes, the New Deal, lend-lease, Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks and Internationalism. Prominence is always given to recommendations for veterans benefits. Frequently the War Department's list of retirements is printed, as well as obituaries.

There is a reason, to be sure, for this interest in the veteran and veteran activities. In its April, 1945 issue, *National Defense* presented the idea (as coming from a reader) of forming the United Veteran's Political Party. But the same story asked readers to reply to a questionnaire, one question of which is: "If twenty-five, or more, war veterans in your vicinity indicate a willingness to organize a unit of a United Veteran's Party will you affiliate with such a unit?" The questionnaire was to be returned to *National Defense*.

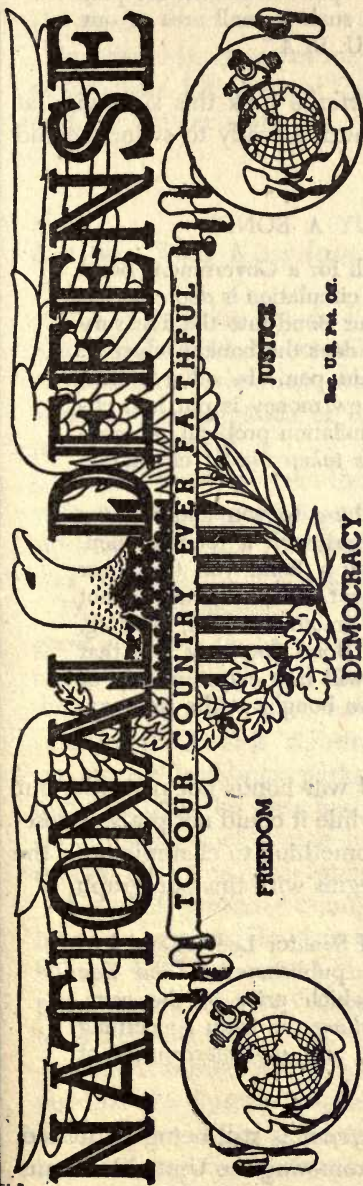
What sort of veteran organization would come of Mr. Hoepfel's sponsorship?

In 1943, the July issue of *National Defense* recommended Joseph Kamp's pamphlet, *Famine in America*. In the May, 1945 issue, published at the time most decent and loyal Americans were still mourning the death of Franklin Roosevelt and when the country was still officially in mourning, the following item was printed on the editorial page, under the heading:

"COMMENT OF A CALIFORNIA SUBSCRIBER"

"Is Santa Claus Dead There now lies on the Hudson (let us *hope* in peace) one who has shown himself as the *greatest* Santa Claus and *promiser* in history. He *did not* give of his own, but through *increasing taxes* and *increasing debt* he gave the sweat and labor of others. He dispensed with a lavish hand, as a consequence of which those *who have been* the recipients of his largesse, (*financial* and *political*) have been profuse in their bereavement and praise of the virtues of *their* Santa Claus or Messiah.

"It was not very far from where *our modern* Santa Claus lies buried, *that was perpetrated* through the *bribery* and *treachery* of the British, one of the *greatest* crimes against Americans—it was *the agreed sell out* of West Point to the British by Benedict Arnold for \$15,000 in gold. It is ironic that the principles of *give*



Reg. U.S. Pat. Off.

Vol. XVII, No. 4

Arcadia, California, April, 1945

\$2 Per Year

United Veterans' Political Party Proposed

THOSE WHO SERVED OUR NATION IN WAR ARE DUTY BOUND TO AMALGAMATE TO PRESERVE IT IN PEACE

Vital Information for Veterans

jective is to wreck the two political machines—Democrats and Republicans—and convert them into museum pieces.

Former Congressman (R.-Cal.) John A. Hoeppel is the mastermind behind National Defense, a sheet aimed at veterans of both world wars. Hoeppel's publishing and organizing activities among servicemen have been openly and heatedly condemned by legitimate veterans' organizations, but Hoeppel continues to print and distribute National Defense and according to latest reports (June, 1945) was making slow but steady headway in building his "United Veterans' Political Party."

away and sell out or bribery—open treason on the part of one should be centered in such a small area of our vast beloved homeland—the U. S. A.”

In the same issue, *National Defense* took this sideswipe at war bonds—as the country was getting ready to swing behind the 7th War Loan Drive.

“WHEN YOU BUY A BOND”

“You are *forced* to pay cash for a Government Bond and in doing so the money in circulation is *decreased* in amount. You cannot turn your Bond into the Treasury and *get* your money back as does the banker when he buys a Bond with a fountain pen. In other words, when a bank buys a Bond new money is put into circulation, thus adding to our inflation problem, whereas if you buy a Bond money *is taken out* of circulation and tends to deflate.

“The bankers have everything to win and *nothing* to lose when they buy a Bond with a fountain pen. You, however, when you buy a Bond you turn over your money to the government, which money, if not so used, would buy a certain amount of food, clothing, etc. When you cash in the Bond you may find that the same amount of money will buy *only one-half*, or much less, than it would have bought at the time you purchased the Bond.”

While it found the purchase of war bonds not patriotic, but on the whole, discouraging and while it could not praise Roosevelt, *National Defense* did find something to champion. In the same issue, on page 11, a story begins with this paragraph:

“The wife and two sons of Senator Lee O’Daniel of Texas are the owners and publishers of *The Lee O’Daniel News*, a weekly which prior to the campaign and since, has been *telling* the truth concerning the *inefficiency, corruptness, and un-Americanism* of the New Deal.”

As this is written, *National Defense* is still being published, Mr. Hoeppele is still engaged in promoting the United Veterans’ Political Party. It is being done through readers’ letters—but

the questionnaire, remember, was to be returned to *National Defense*.

In time, Mr. Hoeppel may resent being a former "Member of Congress, 12th Dist. of Calif." He may have plans for power on a far greater scale.

Let Not This Kingdom Come

In Los Angeles, Dr. A. J. Lovell is leader of the "National Kingdom," which is actually the West Coast branch of the Anglo-Saxon Federation. At National Kingdom meetings, literature and propaganda of the Anglo-Saxon Federation is distributed and sold.

Lovell's meetings take the usual anti-Semitic line, garnished with anti-Russian sentiments. At a meeting at the Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles on July 10, 1944, Dr. Lovell's text was "Uncle Sam on His Knees."

Dr. Lovell offered the observation that there were a few good Jews left, that he had nothing against Jewish women and children, but the Jewish adults who have control of the country will have to suffer the penalty and pay for their misdeeds. He said that this land is "rightfully ours" and that "we" had built it up, erected buildings, parks and set the community in motion and that then the Jews had come in and taken it all over and set up what their name implies, "jewelry stores." He then spelled the name, with intense emphasis, JEWELRY STORES.

After this amazing example of confused rabble-rousing, he hit other targets. He claimed that the "hiring" of Army Chaplains is in the hands of the Catholic faith, that the highest positions are held by Catholics and that menial jobs are given to Protestants.

Then he turned on the Russians and read a clipping, pointing out that the Russian government was responsible for our not being able to send medical aid and supplies to our boys interned in Japanese prison camps.

That this kind of exhibition draws an audience is somewhat

strange. But that Lovell puts it on is not. For Lovell is a former associate of another rabble-rouser, Joseph D. Jeffers, West Coast anti-Semite who was recently sentenced to four years in prison and fined \$1,000 on conspiracy and interstate automobile theft convictions.

Dr. Lovell is also closely associated with Jonathan Ellsworth Perkins, Box 2508, Los Angeles. Mr. Perkins recently published a book, *The Modern Canaanites or the Enemies of Jesus Christ*, a vicious anti-Semitic tract which Lovell has distributed.

Perkins, too, has other interesting connections. He is a relative of Gerald Winrod and once worked for him. This information is not revealed in his book, but he does refer to the Washington trial for alleged sedition at which Winrod was one of the defendants and he boasts familiarity with the writings of E. N. Sanctuary, James True and Elizabeth Dilling. Referring to their literature, Perkins says, "(it) courageously exposed the (Jewish) people who were enemies of our constitution. . . . It seems strange that people who defended the Constitution and the Flag should be indicted for sedition."

As late as March, 1945, Perkins was connected with a small mission, known as the Emmanuel Army, located at 610 W. 9th Street, Los Angeles. His league with Lovell, his past connections and his defense of individuals named in the indictment for alleged sedition mark him as dangerous to American democracy.

But it remained for Lovell to reveal the threat he himself constitutes and the direction he is taking when he said at one meeting: "When our boys out there giving their lives come back and when the 'new order' is in effect, the Jews over here will beg on their knees." How low Lovell's "new order" would bring American democracy he has not suggested, but how hard his disruption and hate-mongering is hitting it is all too clear.

There is one more West Coast outfit which is difficult to classify. It is the Constitutional Government League, 4031 Francis Avenue, Seattle, Washington. Its president is E. H. Rettig and it publishes a 12-page monthly magazine called *The Constitutionalist*.

For years Rettig has advertised in Gerald Winrod's anti-

Semitic, pro-fascist *Defender*. *The Constitutionalist* itself regularly reprints anti-Semitic as well as anti-New Deal blasts from various sources. In a spring, 1945 issue, it carried a full page advertisement of the National Blue Star Mothers of America of Pennsylvania similar to the handbill reproduced in Chapter VII, urging "Bring the Boys Back Home."

Of itself, the Rettig outfit probably cannot be assailed, except on the grounds that its anti-Semitism is un-American, and during the war its hatred of our allies has promoted distrust and disunity.

But thrown in with other West Coast activities it does its share to keep the cauldron of dissension and disunity bubbling. And in the whole West Coast picture there is the danger. The hate sheets are prime weapons of fascists; the Lovells and the Perkins's promote hatred; the Hoepfels have an eye on the veterans—and over all is the ugly fact that un-American activity is one of the stepping stones the fascists hope to use on their way to power.

IN THE SHADOW OF CAPITOL HILL

IN 1944 a new word became, more and more, a part of the terminology employed by the disruptionist groups. The word is "nationalism."

In Detroit, in that year, Gerald L. K. Smith began to emphasize the nationalism of his America First Party. In 1945, when Smith formed the National Emergency Committee, he again chose this catch-all word.

For, once victory over Germany became a matter of time, and once they anticipated V-E Day, there were two men in America who began to show their hands, who revealed that they anticipated an opportunity to achieve actual political power. One was Gerald L. K. Smith, whose activities are recounted in Chapter IV, the other was Robert Rice Reynolds, ex-Senator from North Carolina, ex-writer for the Hearst newspapers, ex-leader of the Vindicators, present friend of Gerald L. K. Smith, present head of the American Nationalist Party.

Robert Rice Reynolds' political career began when he ran for the office of Prosecuting Attorney of his district in North Carolina. His technique at that time was to call everybody "cousin" and pass out to children sticks of peppermint candy around which were wrapped the printed appeal "Ask your daddy to vote for Bob Reynolds." He was elected.

He ran for the office of Lieutenant Governor in 1924, and was defeated. In 1926 he ran for the Senate, and was defeated. When he ran for the Senate again in 1932 he was elected—again on an interesting platform. His opponent was Cameron Morrison, who had married a wealthy widow. Reynolds' campaign was based on attacking Morrison's wealth. He would delight his audiences with stories of how well Morrison ate and how much he paid for his meals, often brandishing a menu of the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, and reading from it the cost of various dishes—leaving the audience to assume that Morrison ate them all every day.

A typical Reynolds wind-up to a speech was this, holding up a jar of caviar he would say: "Friends, it pains me to tell you that Cam Morrison eats fish eggs. This here jar ain't a jar of squirrel shot; it's fish eggs, and Red Russian fish eggs at that, and they cost \$2.00. Now, fellow citizens, let me ask you, do you want a Senator who ain't too high and mighty to eat good old North Carolina hen eggs, or don't you?"

Evidently the people of North Carolina didn't want a Senator who was too high and mighty to eat hen eggs. Reynolds won.

In 1938, when he was up for re-election, he won on the basis of supporting the New Deal, but by 1939, when he announced the organization of The Vindicators and began to publish the *American Vindicator*, he had reversed his field. The eight-page tabloid-size paper was devoted to Red-baiting, alien-baiting and condemnation of the New Deal foreign policy. That same year, in a speech in the Senate, Reynolds gave as a source of some of his material a book called *Name the Aggressors* by Louis Ward. Ward was the contact man for Father Coughlin in Washington. Reynolds didn't adopt open anti-Semitism, but Jews were absent from membership in the Vindicators, and Reynolds once inserted in the *Congressional Record* an anti-Semitic, anti-alien article from Domenico Trombetta's *Il Grido della Stirpe*. Trombetta has been denaturalized and indicted as an unregistered foreign agent.

The formation of the *Vindicators* was announced on January 31, 1939. On February 5, 1939, the *Voelkischer Beobachter*,

Hitler's newspaper, carried an article with the byline "Senator Robert R. Reynolds, North Carolina." Reporting this in *Sabotage! The Secret War Against America*, Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn wrote:

"The article, which was in the form of an interview, was entitled 'Advice to Roosevelt: Stick to Your Knitting.' The same article was printed in the United States in the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, official organ of the German American Bund. Hearst's International News Service, which arranged the interview-article, quoted Senator Reynolds as saying: 'I can see no reason why the youth of this country should be uniformed to save the so-called democracies of Europe—imperialistic Britain and communistic France . . . I am glad to be able to state that I am absolutely against the United States waging war for the purpose of protecting the Jews anywhere in the world.'"

By a very curious coincidence, February 5, 1939, was also the day on which Robert Reynolds wrote a special article for Hearst's *New York Journal and American*.

"Mr. Hearst," asserted Reynolds, "has exactly expressed my views on the folly of going to war to protect the foreign lands and alien principles of socialist France, imperialist England, communist Russia or any other country." (*Dixie Demagogues* by Allan A. Michie and Frank Ryhlick.)

At this period in his career Reynolds became friendly with George Deatherage, leader of the Knights of the White Camelia, an openly fascist, anti-Semitic organization. He has also worked with John B. Trevor, who heads American Coalition, with offices in the Southern Building, Washington, D. C. American Coalition is a rather mixed organization, a holding company for more than 100 "patriotic" organizations, many of which are truly patriotic such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Others, however, include such outfits as the American Women Against Communism, the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, which worked actively with James True, Elizabeth Dilling and Gerald Winrod. The American Coalition has crusaded against "aliens" and refugees. It cooperated

with Prescott Dennett, who was on trial with Winrod, James True and Elizabeth Dilling for alleged sedition. In two of the indictments handed down by Federal Grand Juries, the Coalition was charged with being a vehicle through which the alleged seditionists spread their propaganda.

While he was in the Senate, Reynolds frequently inserted letters from Trevor in the *Congressional Record*, most of them in support of Reynolds' program.

Reynolds has also figured prominently in other dubious events. He was mentioned in connection with the Prescott Dennett-George Hill-George Sylvester Viereck franking scandal. In 1940 George Sylvester Viereck organized the Islands for War Debts Committee, also known as the War Debt Defense Committee and the Make Europe Pay War Debts Committee. Chairman of the committee was the late isolationist Senator Ernest Lundeen. Honorary Chairman was Robert Rice Reynolds. Among other members of Congress whose franked envelopes were used by the committee was Reynolds, then Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee.

Reynolds was to be up for re-election again in 1944. Though he was Chairman of one of the most powerful Senate Committees, a position which is a distinct sinecure, and though he had then become one of the powerful figures in Washington, he decided not to run again. However, Gerald L. K. Smith had at this time decided to nominate a candidate of the America First Party for President. The candidacy was offered to Reynolds, who said that he was "flattered and honored." But he decided not to accept it.

On January 5, 1945, Reynolds announced the formation of The Nationalist Party, and issued a booklet entitled *Here's How You Can Become a Political Leader in Your District*. The booklet stated that the party was to be officially launched on July 4th, 1945, but it contained instructions for organization on a rather carefully worked out unit basis. There were to be ten people to each unit, so that meetings of individual units could be held in private homes.

Support for The Nationalist Party came at once from such organizations as "We The Mothers Mobilize for America" and

the "American Democratic National Committee," and similar groups. The American Democratic National Committee, despite its rather confusing name, has no connection with the National Committee of the recognized Democratic Party in the United States. The American Democratic National Committee has offices in the Washington Building, Washington, D. C., at 342 Madison Avenue, New York (the building in which Kamp's Constitutional Educational League has an office) and at 105 S. Lafayette Street, Chicago. This committee was originally headed by Harry Woodring, who was once a member of the Roosevelt cabinet. The committee claimed then that it sought to "redeem the Democratic Party from its alien-minded over-lords." Later Woodring resigned and Gleason L. Archer became the new National Chairman. Gleason L. Archer, interestingly and significantly enough, is a trustee of Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government (see Chapter II).

One of the officers of the American Democratic National Committee is John O'Connor, ex-Congressman of New York, who was the lawyer for George Hill. Robert M. Harriss, Father Coughlin's financial advisor for 15 years, suggested that William Goodwin, a New York Coughlinite and ex-leader of the American Rock Party (now out of business) be made Treasurer of the committee. Goodwin got the job. Also on the committee are Senator W. Lee O'Daniel, of Texas, and Eugene Talmadge, ex-Governor of Georgia, present editor of *The Statesman*.

Between the American Democratic National Committee and other groups there is, incidentally, another interesting connection. John O'Connor wrote a testimonial for Reynolds' Nationalist Party which was published in the official newspaper, the *National Record*. O'Connor's article was later reprinted in the San Francisco *Leader*, a Coughlinite weekly to which Father Curran also contributes.

The announcement of Reynolds' Nationalist Party was not overlooked by a certain section of the press. The *Chicago Tribune* said:

"Former Sen. Reynolds of North Carolina has announced the formation of a new political organization to be known as the Nationalist Party. . . .

"Neither of the two major political parties," he says "is big enough to hold both interventionists and non-interventionists, nationalists and internationalists, Communists and anti-Communists."

"That, we believe, is true, and the truth of it should be as apparent to those who disagree with Mr. Reynolds on questions of national policy as to those who are in accord with his views. . . .

"To expect the Democratic Party, divided as it now is, to produce a consistent program is to expect the impossible. The hope is that the Republican Party can break the control which has weakened it and minimized its usefulness. Certainly unless the Republicans act to this end, and act with vigor, support will flow to the Reynolds movement."

The New York *Daily News*, which frequently backstops for the *Tribune* when it is not in there pitching itself, said in an editorial:

"... the Republican Party has now taken a body blow from one of its own leaders. (Sen. Vandenberg), long a nationalist if not an isolationist, who has now come out for internationalism of the Roosevelt variety and more so if possible.

"We think Vandenberg's speech foreshadows the breakup of the Republican Party," the editorial continued, "and the coming of a new party. . . . What we need are the internationalist Democratic party that we already have, and a nationalist party that will stand for American interests.

"Where is this party to come from and who will compose it? Logically, the veterans returning after this war, sick of fighting other people's battles and having their own country bled white via Lend-Lease. . . . For our part, the boys can't come home and form a nationalist party too soon. We hope that after the war they will speedily get themselves organized, and will take over political control of this country from both Democrats and Republicans—because the present generation of Democratic and Republican leaders have made an ungodly mess both of our foreign policy (if any) and of our home economy."

Early in 1945, Reynolds claimed that the Nationalist Party already had a million members in 48 states, and Reynolds had not waited for the formal organization of the party to begin political action. Along with Gerald L. K. Smith, the Chicago "nationalist," who attacked the Bretton Woods agreement as "a conspiracy to steal America's money," Reynolds said that Bretton Woods grew out of a "plot for world government" on the part of the "international bankers."

Reynolds' Nationalist Party may grow far beyond the million members now claimed for it, or it is possible, since Smith and Reynolds have been friendly in the past, that both nationalist movements may merge to become a definite political force, capable of boosting either of the leaders up the political ladder. Both have shown political ambitions. Reynolds is reported to have angled for the vice-presidential nomination in 1940. Smith was the Presidential candidate of his own America First Party in 1944.

In any event, there is likely to be dynamite in the "nationalist trend." As *PM* pointed out in an article on May 27, 1945, "the word *nationalism* has a nice patriotic sound about it, like *Americanism*, and this is not the first time it has been used as protective coloration by pro-fascists in America. Indeed, nationalism has been a favorite word of fascists in every country: German nationalism, Italian nationalism, Spanish nationalism, Argentine nationalism, all used the same patriotic slogans to the same end."

THE "MOM" MENACE

OF all the groups which have engaged in fascist activities in America (helping to spread dissension, create disunity and undermine faith in the government) the most sinister are the "momist" outfits. First, because they play upon the natural anxieties of those who have loved ones in the services and who are sometimes easy victims because they are emotionally upset. Second, because by spreading dissension among mothers of servicemen, they can help to sow dissension among members of the armed services.

Convincing a soldier's mother that the war is a "racket," that it is unnecessary, that it should not be fought, may not be classifiable as treason. (Though telling that to a soldier or sailor certainly should be.) At the least, it is one step removed from treason. For it is possible through mothers to influence sons.

The ambitious fascist mind has not overlooked the fact that sons who return from war to be told that they have been misled and deceived into fighting for a worthless cause could comprise a potential group of fascist stormtroopers.

Nor are these the only vicious factors in fascism's crusade to enlist motherhood as a front for its disruptive activities. The fascists seize the added advantage of confusion. There

are thoroughly loyal, entirely patriotic groups or organizations of "war mothers" in the country. The fascist groups may temporarily mislead many loyal mothers who cannot differentiate at once between a truly sound patriotic service organization and one of the destructive "momist" groups.

All the groups which specialize in spreading disruption, disunity and discord employ much the same tactics. Typical of them is the Current Events Club of Philadelphia, which is fast turning the City of Brotherly Love into the City of Motherly Hate.

This organization meets regularly every two weeks in the POSA Building, 1317 North Broad Street, Philadelphia. Its members all claim to have sons or husbands in the armed forces. The club itself is a chapter of the National Blue Stars Mothers of Pennsylvania, which was formerly known as the Crusading Mothers of America.

On April 23, 1945, the Current Events Club held a meeting which was typical of a number of which the writer has detailed reports. The meeting was opened by Mrs. Catherine Brown, a close friend of Gerald L. K. Smith and a frequent visitor to Senate and House offices in Washington.

Mrs. Brown gave a report to the membership on her recent trip to Washington, where she had talked with "her friend, Gerald."

"He told me," she said, "to thank our women for the wonderful fight they helped put up against the forced labor law." Then she proceeded to speak about the federal law against stirring up racial antagonism, sponsored by Representative Samuel Dickstein of New York.

"We are assured by men like Smith, Wheeler and others," she said, "that this will never become a law, thank God!" (Of course she offered no evidence of any such assurance from Senator Wheeler, or any other government official.)

With this preliminary completed, Mrs. Brown shed her decorum as chairlady of the meeting and launched into a frenzied and typically "momist" harangue.

"Ladies," she said (and this is verbatim), "we have been doing a good job until now, as our friends in Washington

admit, but there is much more to be done until we can put an end to this Jew war and bring our boys home from fighting Britain's and Russia's cause!

"Jew Roosevelt started it and we're going to end it! Demand peace now. Ring doorbells. Talk to every mother and wife you meet who has a loved one fighting the Jew international banker's war. We want Christian civilization and the only way we're going to get it is through true Christian fighting spirit."

At another meeting at which Mrs. Brown also presided she was outraged by unexpected publicity which had been given to the club.

"There's a dirty spy in our midst," she shouted, ". . . a rat who has come here pretending to be one of us. Walter Winchell's last broadcast, on February 4th, mentioned Agnes Waters who visited us and what she said."

There was a rustling of chairs at this shocking revelation and one member arose and screamed: "Point her out, the rat!" Others took up the cry and one belligerent professional mother stalked up and down the hall shouting, "Tell me who she is and she won't have a hair left in her head."

Walter Winchell has earned the special hatred of the mother racketeers because he has not hesitated to expose them, nor their female spiritual mentors such as Elizabeth Dilling and the notorious Agnes Waters, who was mentioned and quoted on the Winchell broadcast which had so outraged Mrs. Brown.

Agnes Waters is a professional isolationist mother and Washington lobbyist for several "momist" outfits: We, the Mothers; The National Blue Star Mothers of America; and Mothers and Daughters United; all of them devoted to propagating the highly original idea that it was the Jews who bombed Pearl Harbor. These outfits also urged the negotiation of a separate peace with Germany (long before Germany's collapse) and with Japan.

On April 27, 1945, the New York newspaper *PM* reported that Mrs. Waters had used the franked envelopes of U. S. congressmen, without their permission, and had sent out material of the National Blue Star Mothers of America, along with a

stream of disruptive propaganda. One such leaflet erroneously addressed to a Jewish mother in Philadelphia, whose soldier son had lost a leg in the war, read in part:

"How long, how long are we going to permit our men to be slain to save the Jewish empires all over the world? Did you know that certain Jews by the hundreds are being trained to follow the armies and to be the ARMY OF OCCUPATION, with all the prostrated nations under their control? These men will be the rulers of the Army of Industrial Occupation. Is that what your boy was fighting for?"

In the last presidential election, Mrs. Waters announced her own candidacy and in a news release, sent to both press associations and newspapers, stated:

"I demand that the suicide invasion of Europe be called off and immediately stop this carnage of world revolution that President Roosevelt has plunged this world into, which is a blood bath with our money and now with our blood for the purpose of building a World Government for the Socialist Soviet Republics, which I have for years now opposed, and tried to expose. This is not a war, it is the Lenin plan for world revolution for Communism! I demand that this mass murder of our men be stopped immediately. Any invasions of Europe only can be mass suicide of our men for Russia!"

All this might sound rather crackpot, if we had not already suffered the bitter experience of witnessing where the exposition of such crackpot ideas can lead; and, if Mrs. Waters did not have such facilities for spreading her propaganda nor such large audiences to listen to it.

To one such audience in Philadelphia in May, 1945, Mrs. Waters said, "I have here" (holding up a clipping) "your local list of casualties. It is our duty to get in touch immediately with these wives and mothers who have lost their dear ones and tell them about the Jew bankers and Washington bureaucrats their sons and husbands died for."

Waiting long enough for the applause of the "mothers" to

die down, Mrs. Waters then launched into a tirade against *PM*, quoting that paper as having said that she advocated "shooting every G— d— Jew."

"I did," she exclaimed, "and I'm proud of it!"

Next she veered to another line of attack. "Why," she demanded, "wasn't the 26th Division informed that an attack was coming in Germany?" (Von Runstedt's attack at the Belgian bulge in the winter of 1944.) "And why is it that a Nigger unit—the only one in Italy—always knew when *it* was going to be attacked?"

She allowed time for this lie to sink in, and to give her audience an opportunity to jot down notes—so that they, in turn, could report to other wives and mothers—those of the men whose names had appeared on the casualty lists that day. Then she continued. Her next noteworthy remarks were upon the near-riots which grew out of the transit walkout which had stirred Philadelphia in August, 1944.

"I'm glad," she said, "the people of Philadelphia had guts enough to riot at the PTC hiring Jews and Niggers. I wish we had held out longer."

Periodically the streets of Philadelphia and nearby cities which compose the great Delaware River industrial war center have been distributing centers for handbills that read as they might have had they been printed in Berlin. One of these, addressed to "Christian Mothers," is reproduced here.

They emanate from the headquarters of the National Blue Star Mothers of Pennsylvania in the Harrison Building, Philadelphia. From this headquarters has poured a steady stream of such tracts and handbills. Another is datelined Washington, D. C., and is headlined: U. S. CASUALTIES TOTAL 737,342. Its opening paragraph begins: "CHRISTIAN MOTHERS: IS THIS THE PRICE YOU ARE PAYING FOR JEWISH REVENGE? Did you ever notice the number of young JEWS in business, and how few in uniform?"

Its astonishing likeness to Nazi tracts and its unmistakable stamp of Nazi technique is a portent of what may come.

It is also significant that another such leaflet, also issued by the National Blue Star Mothers of America, quotes Senator

W. Lee O'Daniel, whose work for The Christian American of Texas has already been discussed. O'Daniel is quoted in the handbill as follows:

"The Communists, Socialists and fellow traveling New Dealers in both the Democratic and Republican Parties who have taken possession of the people's government, are rapidly changing our American form of democracy into a dictatorial form of government, whereby the people are rapidly losing their freedom, their liberty and their constitutional form of government." (See reproduction.)

In an article in the *Woman's Home Companion* in July, 1944, Patricia Lochridge revealed the tie-up of the Philadelphia National Blue Star Mothers of America leaders, Mrs. Catherine Brown and Mrs. Lillian Parks, with Gerald L. K. Smith and cited their organizational plan for setting up new "momist" outfits in various cities.

This group should not be confused—though it is significantly dangerous that such groups often are—with the patriotic Blue Star Mother organizations throughout the country (and notably in Flint, Michigan), nor with the Pennsylvania Blue Star Brigade, which are patriotic mother organizations undoubtedly hampered by the similarity of names.

So, too, is there the danger of confusion in the cases of many other truly patriotic mother organizations, such as American Wac Mothers, Navy Mothers, Mothers of World War II, and MOMS (Mothers of Men in Service). These and many more have done splendid wartime work, though they must have been hamstrung often by the racket-outfits which have adopted the "good-name technique."

This patriotic (and educational) name technique is common to the entire disruptionist movement—though occasionally it boomerangs, to the embarrassment of the disruptionists themselves. In Philadelphia, another "momist" outfit which began its activities as Mothers of Pennsylvania hurriedly had to change it to Mothers and Daughters of Pennsylvania when a local reporter revealed that most of its members were middle-

U. S. CASUALTIES TOTAL 737,342

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2, 1945

CHRISTIAN MOTHERS: IS THIS THE PRICE YOU ARE PAYING FOR JEW REVENGE? Did you ever notice the number of young JEWS in business and how few in uniform? Read over the casualty list in your newspaper and see how many JEW names you find there. JEWS seem to keep out of the casualty list, and this gives them more time to smear Christian mothers whose sons may have been one of the 495,052 U. S. casualties reported last year. Now, Nurses are to be drafted. Next it will be all women between 18 and 45, just as been done in Communist Russia. Will you stand quietly by and see your women drafted and, like your sons, sent to every corner of the earth, exposed to God knows WHAT? Must we have another million Christian casualties just to make Stalin the world dictator instead of Churchill or Roosevelt?

CONGRESSMAN Louis T. McFadden of PENNSYLVANIA had this to say in a radio address May 2, 1934, regarding A. A. Berle (jew) our new Ambassador to Brazil. "I desire now to refer briefly to a plan that was advocated as far back as 1918 when A. A. Berle had some very definite ideas regarding the establishment of a new State. Indeed he wrote a little book on "The Significance of a Jewish State" dedicated to his friend Louis D. Brandeis. In it he regarded the Jew as "the barometer of civilization at all times." He recognized the inability of Christianity to avert war or "to do a single thing towards mitigating its worst effects", and seemed to think the Jews were the only power that could do anything about it." **SO THE JEWS ARE THE ONLY PEOPLE WHO CAN STOP THIS WAR.**

HOLY WAR: On August 6, 1933 in a radio address, Sam Untermyer (jew), self-styled world's aristocrat, refers to "The Holy War" and goes on to say, "It is a war that must be waged unrelentingly until the black clouds of bigotry, race hatred and fanaticism that have descended upon what was once Germany, but is now medieval Hitlerland, have been dispersed." How much blood, sweat and tears has this JEW holy war cost you Christian Mothers in the United States? Has your son been sacrificed on the altar of this "holy war"? Or do you Christian Mothers feel that \$10,000 is a fair price for a dead son and perhaps a dead daughter? **DEMAND PEACE NOW.**

These are only a few of the real facts about this "holy war" of the JEWS. Too long has the truth been kept from the people of the United States as to the cause of this "holy war". Demand of your Senator and Congressman that he bring out on the floor of Congress the TRUTH, THE WHOLE TRUTH and NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH. If you want to save Christian civilization in the United States, support us in our effort to stop this slaughter of our Christian youth. **THERE IS NO FREEDOM WITHOUT FREEDOM OF SPEECH.** Keeping silent, can be the blackest of lies. We do not intend to keep silent but will tell the real truth as we know it to be.

THERE IS HARD WORK TO DONE. WE NEED YOUR HELP.

The National Blue Star Mothers of Pennsylvania
Harrison Building,
Philadelphia, Pa.

February, 1945.

"Christian mothers" are the opening words in the above leaflet, issued by the anti-Semitic National Blue Star Mothers of Pennsylvania. This outfit has been one of the most disruptive of the "momist" groups. It has attempted, as in this leaflet, to turn "Christian mothers" against Jews and to convince them that their sons are being "sacrificed."

Such leaflets as this are mailed to mothers whose sons' names appear on casualty lists.

aged spinsters. This group presently exerts its influence principally through a news-letter, edited by a former Coughlin follower and secretary of one of The America First chapters.

The history of the mother racket or "momism" in America begins on December 11, 1939, when Father Coughlin announced on a national broadcast the formation of his National League of Mothers. He invited women all over the country to write to him, or *Social Justice*, "to be put in touch with responsible leaders and regional organizers."

Thousands of women replied and in a short time were being organized into branches of Coughlin's "legion." They were fed the well-known anti-British, anti-Russian, anti-Jewish, anti-Roosevelt propaganda.

In time, well known fascists such as Gerald L. K. Smith, Earl Southard and others moved in, recruiting susceptible women from all over the country, and a storm of "delegations" broke upon a harassed Washington, to oppose Lend-Lease and every other preparation for the war which was then inevitable.

Eventually, the mother racket settled down to a half-dozen large national groups, each with separate leadership but all connected through frequent exchange of letters and speakers.

Investigators have estimated that at various times the total membership of these female hate groups has ranged up to more than half a million. Today the national groups include: We, the Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc., with headquarters in Chicago; the National Blue Star Mothers of Pennsylvania (and of America), with various offshoots such as the Current Events Club; the United Mothers of Cleveland; The Mothers of Sons Forum of Cincinnati; the American Women Against Communism, which has now changed its name to American League for Good Government, Inc. of New York (to whom everything pertaining to the prosecution of the war has been "communistic") and the Mothers of the U. S. A., with headquarters in Detroit. There are now also numerous local factions composed of groups which broke away from the national organizations because of factional strife—not because of any differences on fundamentals or disagreements with the hate policies.

We, The Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc., is headed by Mrs. Lyrle C. Van Hynning, who last year sponsored a "National Peace Convention" in Chicago. Its secret sessions were attended by some hundred women and twelve men representing "mothers" groups in twenty states. The convention outlined plans for a nationwide drive of women for a negotiated peace with Germany.

"We, the mothers of war age boys, beg you to place the blame for the death of your beloved where it belongs, and not be deceived by propaganda into blaming a foreign power. In the name of justice, we ask you to call to account the real murderers of your beloved one, the men who violated the Constitution of the United States by sending him into the war zone. Ask our boys—ask all of us—to call to account the actual murderers and we will bless you and our country will call you blessed."

The letter also suggested that the President of the United States (Roosevelt) and the Secretary of the Navy (Knox) be sued as private citizens for the lives lost.

The United Mothers, of Cleveland, headed by Mrs. Freda Stanley, is especially inimical to labor, and according to Mrs. Stanley, labor unions are "communistic." On April 3, 1944, this group sponsored a meeting which was addressed by Gerald L. K. Smith and collected \$1,200 for him. The United Mothers have concurred in the usual negotiated peace line and advocate the end of the "silly delusion" democracy to be replaced by a "nationalistic" government for the United States.

American Women Against Communism, or as it is now called, the American League for Good Government, Inc., is headed by Mrs. A. Cressy Morrison, who has worked with Elizabeth Dilling and has distributed books by Jeremiah Stokes, of Utah, who once said, "What we need is a Hitler in every state, strong men who will rule things the right way." Although Mrs. Morrison disclaims any activity except fighting "communism," she has said that she considered the mass sedition trials in Washington "a conspiracy against courageous patriots who placed American interests above those of any

foreign 'isms.'" And the committee's ability to find the communist menace everywhere is alarmingly inclusive. It has discovered that communists are inciting "Racial Uprising and Bloody Revolution Among Negroes of Dixie;" that communists are trying to grab all the farm land in the Middle West, and (its prize discovery) that atheism and communism are rampant in the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Mrs. Morrison is currently advising her following that the communist plot to give Negroes sovereignty in the South, indicates that this is the time "to take action."

The Mothers of Sons Forum, whose headquarters is at 111 West Street, Cincinnati, was organized about 1940 or a little earlier by Mrs. Josephine Mahler, who got together a small group to keep America out of Europe's war. By June of 1940, her group had grown large enough to get 65,000 names on petitions against the enactment of the Selective Service Act. At the present, Mrs. Lucinda Bengel seems to have taken over management, though Mrs. Mahler is still active.

Both Mrs. Dilling and Gerald L. K. Smith have been speakers at the Forum's meetings. The official organ has been called successively *P-S* and the *Bulletin*. Among statements which have appeared in the publications are these: "America's most dangerous enemy is not Hitler, not Churchill, not Stalin, but Roosevelt . . . Churchill is a Jew . . . Roosevelt is a Jew, this is a war of Jewish capitalists." In addition to such propaganda which was identical with the regular Nazi outpourings of the time, the Forum joined in with the usual "momist" demand for a negotiated peace with Germany.

Mothers of the U. S. A. is in the direct line of the Coughlin original call to battle. It was founded in Detroit by Mrs. Mary A. Decker, soon after the Coughlin broadcast for the Legion of Mothers. Since then Mrs. Decker has been replaced by Mrs. Rosa N. Farber, who still heads the group. Patricia Lochridge, in her *Woman's Home Companion* article, reported that the Farber group had closed up shop. But there is every evidence that Mrs. Farber, who is careful and shrewd (see John Roy Carlson's *Under Cover*, pp. 213, 217, 222, 224, 225, 288, 302, 308-11, 313, 336, 387, 395, 508) has kept an

organization intact for a crusade at any time she and the leaders feel is right. Mrs. Farber, in one conversation, recalled that Napoleon said, "Don't let your enemy choose the time and place of the battle, choose them yourself," and then pointed out, "New Dealers would like to find out what our plans are, but we are keeping them guessing. Maybe we'll wait till after the war when the boys come home . . ."

Detroit is also the home of the American Mothers, whose national chairman is Mrs. Beatrice Knowles, a friend of Gerald L. K. Smith, and a distributor of his pamphlets. Mrs. Knowles told Patricia Lochridge, in 1944, that she has a mailing list of between 35,000 and 54,000 names.

Also operating along the same line as Mrs. Knowles, principally by mail, is another Detroiter, Mrs. Blanche Winters, of East Jefferson Avenue, who is head of what she calls "a foxy little group named simply, 'The Mothers.'" Mrs. Winters claims to have a mailing list "in the hundreds of thousands." She is an ardent distributor of that old phony *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and an admirer of Mrs. Van Hyning of We, The Mothers. Mrs. Winters, who is wealthy (she once promised to contribute \$100,000 to a campaign to elect a woman President of the United States), formerly led an organization called the League of the Blue Cross, which she discontinued when America entered the war. "Because," she explained, "we all could have gone to jail for life if we had kept on."

There is also a minor "momist" group in Boston, headed by Marie Ballum, a spinster. Miss Ballum was formerly the local circulation boss for *Social Justice* and follows the Coughlin, anti-Semitic line. On occasion she has rounded up impressive delegations of "mothers," even though hers is not one of the big important groups.

It is the Agnes Waters, Van Hyning, Catherine Brown type, still working actively and openly, which is most dangerous, and the Farber-Knowles type, which has been clever enough to lie low during the critical war years, that may yet take the lead in postwar years. They recognize the value of enlisting veterans. They have now done their spade-work among tens of

thousands of mothers. Their influence is enormous—and alarming. They may yet time their activities for the days when they hope to catch us off guard.

In the meantime, as this is written, a woman like Agnes Waters is still free in wartime Washington, to carry on her campaign of disruption, defeatism and dissension, the three forerunners of outright fascism.

WILL THE VETERANS MARCH?

FOR several years after the war, and perhaps even longer, America may be occupied with the problems of re-integrating returned veterans into the national life. Most Americans desire that this be done swiftly and with full regard for what every veteran deserves from his country.

The fascists have other ideas. They are occupied now, and they will continue to be occupied, with their own problem—how best to entice veterans into their own organizations. Their activities will center on keeping the veteran from being re-integrated into the national life, on spreading dissension among veterans, on campaigns of enrollment which they hope will give them veteran backing which they can use to promote themselves and their plans.

The first stages of this campaign have already taken place. Through the "Momism" movements they attempted to discourage the men who were fighting the war, they sowed ideas of defeatism, they tried to convince (and they convinced far too many) mothers and wives and sweethearts of soldiers that the war was not America's war. They tried to convince them that the struggle against fascism abroad was not America's struggle.

The next step is to make servicemen themselves dissatisfied,

and the next after that is to promise the servicemen more than anybody else promises. It is not difficult to frame promises and, unfortunately for America, the fascists have had powerful help in creating dissatisfaction. The reactionary press which played up strike stories, which gave a one-sided picture of labor's contribution to winning the war, played right into the fascists' hands.

A service man who has read the false stories of tremendous wages for little work, who has been shown the false picture of civilians stopping work for petty reasons, of loafing when they pleased, of "cleaning up" during the war, has been well indoctrinated for fascist purposes.

The press and the people of America may well regret that such stories were played up and that the true story of hard work and civilian cooperation which did so much to help win the war was played down.

A man who has contributed years of his life, and who has probably risked his life every year of his service, who has had to forego the opportunity for civilian advancement is not likely to forget such stories. Nor, regardless of how strong is his mind and his character, is he likely to forget the stories of defeatism, the stories which try to convince him that he could as well have been at home all the time he was at war. And the fascists are not likely to let him forget if they are free to remind him, if they have the chance to tell him.

So far they have had the chance. And they have made the most of it. Even during the war some of them were busily engaged in promoting veterans organizations. The records of these men is the indication of what their organizations will become. The measure of their success is the very measure of danger to American democracy.

Most widely and openly active among them is Gerald L. K. Smith, the Detroit "nationalist" and organizer of the National Emergency Committee, whose recent work along other lines we have already considered.

As early as November, 1944, Smith announced in *The Cross and The Flag* that he was preparing to organize the Nationalist Veterans of World War II, and asked his readers to send names

NOVEMBER, 1944

EDITORIAL COMMENT

by *Gerald L. K. Smith*

VETERANS! VETERANS! VETERANS! We are now getting ready to organize

the veterans of this war into an organization known as the Nationalist Veterans of World War II. If you know a veteran of this war who is a Nationalist, send his name in at once so that he can be informed when the time comes to launch the campaign for expansion. Send the names of all veterans to THE CROSS AND THE FLAG, Box 459, Detroit, Michigan and we will see that the names are turned over to the organization committee headed by George Vose, recently mustered out of the army hospital at Fort Custer.

Above is a reproduction of an appeal to ex-servicemen by Gerald L. K. Smith's virulent The Cross and the Flag, official publication of the America First Party. Smith, aided by George Vose, court martialled by the U. S. Army for selling government property, is a serious menace in the field of returning veterans.

of veterans to the magazine. "We will see," the editorial states, "that the names are turned over to the organization committee, headed by George Vose, recently mustered out of the army hospital at Fort Custer."

It is true that George Vose had been in the army and that he had been released from Fort Custer Hospital, Battle Creek, Michigan, upon his recovery from a minor leg ailment. It is also true that he had been discharged from the army. But there is more—and more pertinent—information about Vose, which Smith did not publish in *The Cross and the Flag*.

Vose was court-martialed at Fort Sheridan, Illinois, on April 27, 1943, on charges of having sold Army material and also enlisted men's passes to soldiers for five and ten dollars. He was found guilty on May 3, 1943, and sentenced to six months at hard labor at the Sixth Service Command Rehabilitation Center, in Fort Custer, Michigan. He later rejoined his company but was hospitalized because of a leg ailment and discharged. Within a few days after his discharge he became an active organizer for Smith's party.

(Smith, incidentally, admitted he knew of the Vose court-martial and told a reporter of the *New York Post* that he was glad to get Vose because "he was always an America Firster and now he is mad at the Army and that's the way I like my people to be, angry.")

As "head of the organization committee" Vose has been active. He had previously appeared on the platform with Smith at the first national convention of the America First Party—on August 29, 1944. Since November of that year he has appeared at rallies and has conferred secretly with small groups in cities throughout the East and Middle West. In each city he established the framework for post-war organization among the returning war veterans, setting up "central committees" of seven picked ex-servicemen who had already been discharged from the armed forces.

Smith's (and of course, Vose's) method of enticing servicemen is subtle and appealing. The fourth clause in Smith's America First Party platform reads:



The PLATFORM OF THE AMERICA FIRST PARTY

adopted at the First National Convention
of the America First Party held in Detroit, Michigan
on the 29th and 30th of August, 1944



Candidate for President
GERALD L. K. SMITH



Candidate for Vice-President
HARRY A. ROMER

Preamble

The right to form a New Party is the right to devise ways and means to save the Republic. It fulfills the axiom: Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. It represents the escape which a free people must seek when threatened with betrayal and menaced by corruption. It represents

The above "platform" of the America First Party, headed by rabble-rouser Gerald L. K. Smith, was issued during the session of the first national convention of that disruptive outfit held in Detroit on August 29-30, 1944.

The "platform" states the America First Party's position on everything ranging from "War Guilt" to "Farmers" and "Jews."

In discussing "War Guilt" the treacherous Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor is shunted off by a demand that "the truth must be known concerning the Kimmel and Short Pearl Harbor situation."

Then, says this outfit, the war guilty must be found no matter where they are, "New York, London, Berlin, Shanghai or Tokio." Note this typical implication: Look to New York and London (named first) for the war guilty.

In a signed statement, run in with the platform, Gerald L. K. Smith gives the schedule of the party as follows: "1944—The period of preparation. 1946—A victorious year. 1948—We shall, with the help of God, elect a majority of Congress and the President of the United States."

"Veterans: American money for American veterans! Stop the foreign looting of our public treasury. \$1,000 each for mustered-out veterans having served one year, with proportionate sums for those who have served more or less. Extensive program for education, rehabilitation and employment. Stop international boondoggling. We are spending on the South Americans alone enough to give \$1,000 bonus to 6 million veterans.

"Veterans should have the first chance to homestead land confiscated by the Federal Government after those who have suffered mortgage foreclosures have had an opportunity to repurchase."

Smith plans the promises (which may, in the future, go much higher) and Vose plans the organization. It is impossible to discover how successful they have been up to the time of this writing. Smith is alternately secretive and boastful about his activities. But, in the case of the veterans, his best prospects lie ahead. And since he has busily sown disruption and dissatisfaction for years, he may reap a sizeable harvest. Even if he does not, even if returned veterans are too sensible to be enticed into his outfit, he has a number of other projects on hand.

If his promises do bring him sizeable veteran support, he will have a remarkably well-set-up organization which might even enable him to boost himself to power in America. Through his National Emergency Committee he is in contact with individuals and groups that are sowing dissension and disruption.

If in the postwar period he can promote more and more dissatisfaction, if he can recruit thousands of veterans who feel that their government should not have asked them to fight, did not treat them well enough and has not provided them with enough reward, there is no telling how far Smith can go. He does promise them rewards, he may promise them greater ones. With himself at their head, he may urge them to *take* more.

The pattern of Germany can be repeated—even here. In Germany, storm troop battalions were recruited first among veterans. It is inconceivable to think that American veterans

could be so misled. But it is not impossible.

Perhaps that is why the War Department wishes its soldiers to know how to recognize a fascist. That is why it is necessary for every American to know enough to recognize fascist propaganda, fascist tendencies, fascist demagogic promises. So long as Americans do not, America is imperiled.

As aggressive as Smith has been, he does not have the veteran field entirely to himself. There are other operators who use the double pronged attack of playing up the real or imagined grievances of servicemen on the one hand, and offering them the glittering promise of big bonuses on the other.

Joe McWilliams, who should be as much discredited as Smith and Coughlin by now, is boosting his own "Service-men's Reconstruction Plan." He and his aides have circulated tens of thousands of leaflets calling for a flat \$7,800 bonus to each mustered-out serviceman. He attempts to make this seem reasonable by demanding elimination of government appropriations for what he calls "boondoggling New Deal projects."

Whether it was this flank attack on the administration or a genuine desire to further the "plan," McWilliams got a tremendous boost when the *Chicago Tribune* praised the "plan" in its May 6, 1944, issue. McWilliams, of course, reprinted the laudatory spread promptly, and mailed it to servicemen's mothers all over the country.

At a meeting of his followers in Kimball Hall, in Chicago late in 1944, McWilliams boasted, "Already we are making progress in Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit. Soon we'll sweep the country like wildfire . . ."

McWilliams is a braggart, but he is amply financed by wealthy fascist-minded members of a Chicago chapter of the America First Committee, which refused to disband after Pearl Harbor. With such support, plus his ability to flood the mails with both promissory and inflammatory literature, he is likely right in his claims this time.

Every veteran knows what huge sums were poured out to win the war. To many of them the irresponsible promises of McWilliams, Smith and the lesser organizers of similar outfits, will not seem out of line with government expenditures of

recent years. And of course it is understandable that these men desire a substantial financial start when they return to civilian life. Most Americans want them to have it.

What they may not think through is that the extravagant promises of the demagogues, which are rooted in economic fallacies are doubly dangerous. First, they are impossible to fulfill. Second, they undermine the confidence of the returned serviceman in the honest attempt of his government to provide both satisfactory and reasonable compensation for what he has already done, and reasonable benefits for his future.

The overwhelming majority of veterans will think this through. They know that the patriotic veterans organizations such as the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Disabled American Veterans, and others equally loyal, are truly zealous for their welfare and the welfare of the country.

The great majority will join such organizations. But for the smaller group that can be misled, the fascists are now eagerly spreading their nets, hoping to catch them in a period of dissatisfaction, to snare them with unredeemable promises.

Along with McWilliams and Smith there are lesser lights with equally ambitious plans.

One of these is William Kullgren, one of the alleged seditionists who stood trial in Washington in 1944. Kullgren's anti-Semitic, pro-fascist record goes back to 1933 and he has claimed, at various times, to have worked with Robert Edward Edmondson, Elizabeth Dilling, George E. Deatherage, and Eugene Sanctuary, all indicted as alleged seditionists and placed on trial along with Kullgren.

Kullgren has been publishing an incredibly vicious paper, *America Speaks*, which has wide circulation. His line is the spreading of outright falsehood to servicemen of World War II and their families, declaring that President Roosevelt knifed World War I veterans and fought the 1935 soldier bonus bill.

By indirection of course, the present administration is also to be discredited as having no interest in veterans. Kullgren urges veterans and their families to join his anti-Semitic movement to assure proper bonus pay. He, naturally, proposes to head the movement.

Another minor outfit is Edward James Smythe's Protestant War Veterans, with new headquarters in Washington, D. C. Smythe frankly excludes all Jews and Catholics. Smythe was quite open, as recently as 1939, about cooperating with the Nazi propaganda services, having written on one occasion, on the letterhead of the Protestant War Veterans, asking for additional Nazi literature and telling how he had already circulated such propaganda at meetings.

Smythe, who also was indicted, along with Kullgren and the others as an alleged seditionist, should also have been thoroughly discredited by now. But despite wide publicity and his open distribution of Nazi doctrine, he is still able to recruit support. As late as May, 1945, Walter Winchell revealed that Smythe employed agents "to peddle books and 'victory stamps,'" and that the agents received a 40 per cent commission. Smythe, just as any other of the rabble rousers, requires money to keep his organization running. He may not have backers who can be called upon for large contributions and much of his activity may be devoted to money-raising.

But when a man like Smythe is free to recruit veteran support, when a man who has openly cooperated with the German-American Bund, who has praised Fritz Kuhn, who has written some of the most lurid columns ever penned for a fascist sheet, a man who has spouted both anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism, can bring his influence to bear upon returned fighting men, America is menaced as much as Germany ever was when Hitler's rantings helped to create the fateful brown-shirted mob.

It would be fearful enough if Smythe and Kullgren and McWilliams and Smith were merely irresponsible misleaders who promised veterans anything to get them enrolled, to milk them of the few dollars they could get from each, but they are not simply irresponsible, or even misguided Americans. These men who are free to enlist veteran support have already shown what they would like to do with enough of that support behind them. They have quite openly indicated what their course would be if enough dissatisfied ex-servicemen should somehow be enticed into becoming their storm-troopers. And if that

"That this nation under God shall not perish from the earth"

Protestant War Veterans

OF THE
United States

~~Impartial~~
UNDER AN ACT OF CONGRESS
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

149 VERMILYEA AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY



ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS
TO THE ORGANIZATION

OFFICE OF CHAIRMAN
~~General Executive Committee~~
EDWARD JAMES SMYTHE

July 28th-1939.

Terramare Office.
Kronenstrasse 1.
Berlin. Germany.
Gentlemen:-

Many thanks for the books on Hitler and the New Germany. they are already out in circulation, I gave them away at meetings I was addressing on the Subject of keeping American out of another alliance with Great Britian and France and going to war against Germany.

If you writers and nespaper people over there in Germany only knew how hungry the American people were for the real news from your Country, you would see that this was supplied them...and I dont mean German-Americans.

The American people know that the press over here is JEW controlled and that they are being fed a lot of lies, but they dont know how or where to get the truth, I feel that it is your duty over there to get it over to them here.

I am leading the fight against Roosevelt and his gang of JEW Communists, and I will keep fighting them until I drive them out of office 1940. then I feel that under a Republican Administration new and more friendly relations will be created with Germany. that is the wishes of the American Christian people as a whole. I wish that you could convey this to your people through your press.

Americans love the German people, they are our best Citizens, and the most law abiding, that is a matter of fact and public record....while on the other hand... the Jews lead in all fields of criminal activity.Arson.Rape.Dope peddling.Fake Bankruptcy.Political bribery and corruption.smuggling and White Slavery...they stand indicted as our worst Citizens. if they are really Citizens at all.

Send me any other literature that you have on hand.

Cordially Yours.

(Signed) Edward James. Smythe.

No more damning evidence of the direct connection between one of the native fifth columnists and the Nazi German Government, is required than such an exhibit as that reproduced above. Anti-Semite Edward James Smythe, one of those tried in a U. S. Federal Court on charges of alleged sedition, was one of the first home-brand fascists to seek recruits among our armed forces. Latest reports, as of June, 1945, had him still at it, with headquarters established in Washington, D. C. Smythe wrote the above letter to a Nazi propaganda office in Berlin in 1939. (The text of this letter has been re-set for the purpose of legibility only. A photostat of the original is in the author's possession.)

time ever came, every American who did not bother to find out what these men stand for, what they hope to win, what they mean as a threat, every American who failed to demand action against them earlier, will wonder how he came to live in a country where the heavy tramp of storm-troop boots along his street was the signal to cower in awful fear.

Coughlin's Paternal Care

There is another campaigner in the veteran field whose approach to enlisting support is so different that it cannot be considered in quite the same category. This is Father Charles E. Coughlin, whose St. Sebastian's Brigade now numbers some 400,000.

To be sure, these men have not themselves *joined* the brigade. Father Coughlin's approach has been much more subtle—and careful.

The St. Sebastian's Brigade was formed in 1942, when *Social Justice* was still being published. In the February 16, 1942, issue of that publication there was a full page devoted to the virtues of St. Sebastian, proclaiming him the soldier's friend. Then came these paragraphs:

"To keep in step with this patriotic devotion as well as to help spread and encourage it, Social Justice Publishing Company has designed and ordered a beautiful sterling silver St. Sebastian medallion and chain which those under protection may wear about their necks.

"Your boy will prize its possession. Our stock is limited. In a short while the supply will be exhausted.

"During the next few weeks, we will mail this beautiful gift to you to send to your soldier, if you will solicit some friend and send in a new subscription to Social Justice magazine."

Parenthetically, under this advertisement was the statement: "We regret that renewals of present subscriptions cannot qualify for this gift."

Whether this started as a simple subscription-building de-

vice for *Social Justice*, or whether Father Coughlin intended to build up the Brigade, two things did happen. First, *Social Justice*, which had for years run contests and offered prizes to bring in subscriptions, had now discovered its best offer. Enough subscriptions came in from this source to wipe out the magazine's deficit and to add a comfortable surplus. At the end of 1941 *Social Justice's* books showed that it was more than \$20,000 in the hole. In the first four months of 1942, during the "St. Sebastian subscription drive," the deficit was made up and enough added to give the elder Coughlins (who were then named as owners of the magazine) earnings of almost \$58,000.

Social Justice suspended publication (when the Post Office charged that it was obviously seditious), but Father Coughlin continued the St. Sebastian's Brigade activities. He had set up a shrine to St. Sebastian at the Shrine of the Little Flower at Royal Oak, Michigan. The names of servicemen sent to him were to be enscrolled "on the walls of the chapel of St. Sebastian at the shrine." Coughlin now urges mothers, wives and sweethearts of servicemen to enroll the names of their loved ones. There is no charge for enrollment, but contributions are collected—and the contributions average \$3 per enrollment.

Father Coughlin keeps in touch with enrollees by mail.

Up to this writing, Coughlin's mail to members of the brigade has been discreet and reserved. It would have to be in war time. But there are two interesting facts about the St. Sebastian's Brigade which are indicative of the way Coughlin works and the direction he is likely to take.

First, the Catholic Church does not officially consider St. Sebastian the soldier's patron saint. Evidently Father Coughlin had simply decided to so nominate him.

Second, the St. Sebastian's Brigade and money received from it or contributed to it is not controlled by or reported to the Church. It is a project of the League of the Little Flower, a Coughlin-organized company, a lay organization which does not have to report to or submit to the control of the Church.

The diocese and Father Coughlin's superiors have no say about the Brigade or the money it brings in.

Father Coughlin has already proven himself highly capable of attracting sufficient funds to keep his projects going. He has shown himself to be a capable organizer. The Christian Front and the Christian Mobilizers, Coughlin-inspired organizations, are themselves a warning of what may come of Coughlin's present work among the veterans.

Native fascist chiefs, like Gerald L. K. Smith, have boasted that when the servicemen are all mustered out they will seek the leadership of the "nationalists." This is nonsense. The overwhelming majority of men in the service will know better. But it would be a grave mistake indeed to underestimate the destructive ability of Smith, Coughlin, Kullgren, McWilliams or Smythe.

They do not require a majority, or even a sizeable minority of returned servicemen. They will be satisfied if they can influence and organize one veteran out of every hundred. A storm troop mob of 50,000 to 100,000, organized into well-knit companies throughout the country, would give them amazing strength.

The native fascist leaders know that if the chaos, which they have so long tried to create, does come, even several years after the war, that they will need only a well-trained and determined band to take advantage of it. If strikes and brutal strike suppression should ever become the order of the postwar day in America, they hope to find, in servicemen who have been fed anti-labor propaganda, a group they can lead to power—for themselves.

And though Coughlin is not yet in the forefront of direct organization, though he has not yet swung into political action, this man who has been the friend of pro-fascists and anti-Semites, who published the writings of George Sylvester Viereck in *Social Justice*, this man who once said, "we will show you the Franco way," is the man who should be watched most closely. Put such a man in command of a loyal following of 400,000 men, or even 200,000 and before any of us may realize it, he will have shown us the "Franco way"—to a life under iron-clad fascism.

THE HATE SHEET

THE newspapers, magazines, leaflets, pamphlets and newsletters which carry the doctrine of disruption, dissension and disunity are rather loosely identified as "hate sheets." The definition is loose only in the sense that the *methods* of these sheets in dealing out hate propaganda differ. Some of them have unabashedly followed the Goebbels line since its inception. They have poured out hatred, lies, slander and propaganda against minority groups, against the Roosevelt administration, against America's allies, against labor—and, at one time or another, against almost every group in American life except their own fascist fellow-travelers.

Others have been more careful, often making their point by innuendo. Many of them have masked their program of hate behind quotations, either poetic or scriptural. But all of them are dangerously un-American, all of them are bent on splitting American unity, all are intent upon breeding distrust of racial and social groups, of the government and of countries with whom we must have friendship if we are to have peace.

In the pages of this book some of these hate sheets are reproduced, along with biographical material about the individuals behind them. America's principle of a free press must be preserved. Unless a publication is legally criminal or openly seditious, and until it has been proven so, it should not accord-

ing to sound democratic tradition be suppressed. But every American should certainly be warned about and placed on guard against the danger which these sheets present to his country.

America Preferred

(Registered U. S. Patent Office)



A Journal of Opinion

CARL H. MOTE
Editor and Publisher

5685 Central Avenue
Indianapolis 5, Ind.



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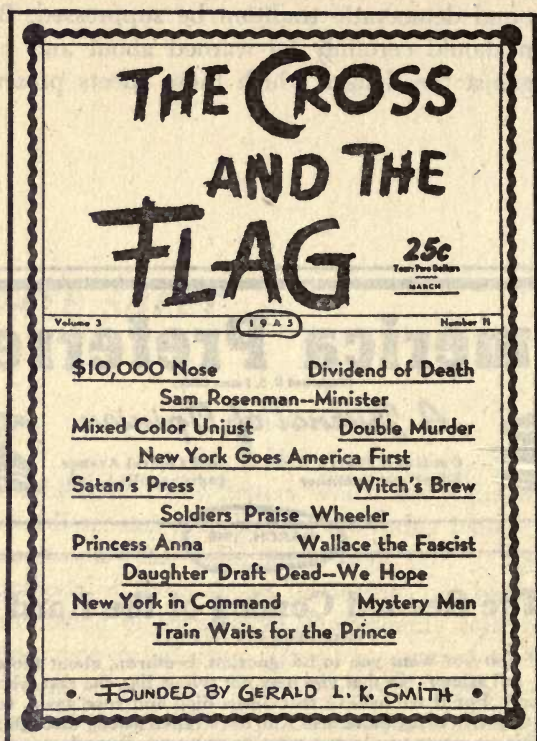
No. 3

The Second Coming of the Lord⁽¹⁾

I Thessalonians 4:13-18; 5:1-11

WE DO NOT want you to be ignorant, brethren, about those who fall asleep²—so that you may not grieve like the rest who have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, so with Him God will bring those also who have fallen asleep through Jesus. For this we say to you in THE WORD OF THE LORD, that whoever among us may be living or left over until the coming of the Lord, shall in no

Carl H. Mote, wealthy Indiana utilities man, is editor and publisher of America Preferred, which ranks high in the list of hate sheets. Mote is President and General Manager of the Northern Indiana Telephone Co., the Commonwealth Telephone Corp., and has other Midwest utility connections. Before publishing his own paper, Mote contributed often to other publications in the hate field, including Pelley's Roll Call and Father Coughlin's Social Justice. Gerald L. K. Smith frequently runs articles under Mote's by-line and considers Mote the perfect type of American businessman . . . the kind Smith would like to see ensconced in Washington. A check on Mote's activities during the years since (and for several preceding) Pearl Harbor reveals that the midwest magnate has close personal connections with such persons as Hudson and Dilling, both indicted for alleged sedition. He has spoken at many meetings definitely in the "time-bomb" category, such as the Bund-inspired League to Save America First in California in 1941 and at a meeting of the Coughlin-led American Charter in Cincinnati, in July 1942. Mote, if only because of his wealth and strategic position in midwest industry, is a man to be watched . . . carefully.



Gerald L. K. Smith, self-proclaimed protege of the late Huey (Every Man a King) Long, and now an aspiring native dictator in his own right, has his own sounding board in the expensively printed *The Cross and the Flag* which he mails to every section of the country from his Detroit headquarters in the Industrial Bank Building.

The Cross and the Flag, like all hate sheets still rolling unmolested off the presses of the nation, is noted for its virulence in sniping at everything the Allied Powers fought for in the struggle to defeat Hitlerism.

Compared with most hate sheets, Smith's publication is a well-edited job, printed on heavy, costly paper. There is an air of cleverness about its "news" and editorials, testifying to Smith's years of experience in the field of rabble-rousing. Editorially, Smith treads carefully, but he leaves a venomous trail nonetheless. His dossier (he was formerly a "Reverend") goes back many years. Officials of the nationally known, reputable Friends of Democracy, have sworn statements to his membership in 1933 in the night-riding Silver Shirts, headed by William Dudley Pelley. Today Smith heads the so-called America First Party and *The Cross and the Flag* serves as his national propaganda medium. Contributors include ex-Senators Nye and Reynolds. Carl H. Mote (see page 81) also contributes.

April - 1942

Dear Fellow American:

The Captain of Police called Mrs. Smith aside. Said he: "Please get word to your husband immediately that he is in great danger. The mob outside is vicious. Tell Mr. Smith that we will meet him at the stagedoor exit with armed police and squad cars."

The above conversation took place in Chicago the night of March 15. The mob outside was made up of 500 or more Jews, mostly young ones. They had been incited, organized, and instructed by J.I. Fishbein, Editor of the Chicago Jewish SENTINEL, and numerous groups under the influence of Fishbein.

What I am about to tell you summarizes one of the most shameful episodes I have ever observed. My Chicago experience on that night was the most tense in my experience, with the exception of the night I stood within ten feet of the late Huey P. Long when he was shot down by the young Dr. Karl Wels.

The America First meeting inside the auditorium was a terrific and triumphant success. Outside, the uncouth Communist mob behaved like the killers and liquidators of Europe and Asia.

I have a right to assume that J.I. Fishbein does not represent all Jews. I have a right further to assume that his participation in this mob

Not content with The Cross and the Flag, a publication of considerable circulation, Gerald L. K. Smith, like his fellow nativists, Mrs. Dilling, Hudson and others, has also gone into the "news letter" racket, a cheap, effective way of reaching thousands for the mere cost of mimeograph paper and postage stamps.

Smith is cagey in resorting to anti-Semitism and handles the weapon cleverly. Notice the neat phrasing of the anti-Semitic blast above . . . that the alleged attack "was offensive to other Jews," etc.

Watch the fascist news letter racket. It is growing.

DESTINY

The Magazine of National Life



JUNGLE DISGUISE

In History: A Whole Nation Was Camouflaged

[PAGE 117]

\$3.00 A YEAR

APRIL 1945

25¢ A COPY

The four-color print job, *Destiny*, organ of the shrewdly led Anglo-Saxon Federation, is an example of dangerous thought in the clerical field. *Destiny* is undoubtedly the most expensive of all the disruptionist sheets being printed today. It has an exceedingly interesting history. Back in 1927, when Henry Ford suspended publication of the anti-Semitic Dearborn Independent following a national furor, the editor of the Dearborn Independent, William J. Cameron, became a "convert" to the Anglo-Saxon Federation's peculiar philosophy that the ten Lost Tribes of Israel had not actually become lost, but had eventually settled in what are now the British Isles, and therefore the real Israelites were not the Jews but the Anglo-Saxons. This is a neat "legalistic" and far more clever twist to anti-Semitism than the stuff Ford's Dearborn Independent had previously peddled.

A M E R I C A I N D A N G E R :

Christ or Chaos!

Charles Bartlett Hudson, 4515 Grant St., Omaha 3, Nebr.

8 issues for \$1. mailed first class.

No. 342.

3/30/45.

O. John Rogge was notified 3/26/45 that I had fully complied with Dept of Justice requirements re bond (reduced from \$5,000 to \$2,500) on 3rd indictment. Wonder how long he takes to dismiss 1st & 2nd indictments as he promised to do? B'NAI B'RITH MESSENGER 3/16/45 asks: "Oh Biddle, Biddle, Why do you fiddle? why do you raise our bile? why, in perdition, are those steeped in sedition, Not brot to immediate trial?" I haven't any news on that either. BEM also boasts: "Important sections of the CIO will set up, before long, an unprecedentedly big machinery for a nationwide campaign against anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism... This activity will establish new standards for aggressive and fearless tactics, and will have the support of a strong Christian (?) religious leadership..."

When Gerald L.K. Smith spoke in Chicago Mar. 15 in AFOFL Temple, 500 Jews (mostly young ones) mobbed the hall, knocked out windows, threw stench bombs, threatened to hang Smith. Temple packed with America Firsters who heard Smith for 2 hours. Guarded by 150 policemen; some with sawed-off shotguns.

Wild-eyed Charles Bartlett Hudson is another "news letter" editor and distributor. His America In Danger is mailed throughout the country and has a sizeable following among Americans who would welcome a dictatorship and everything that goes with it. Hudson does not discriminate in his editorial material; it is a combination of hatreds—against Jews, Negroes, the Administration, Russia and Britain. Hudson is not without modesty regarding his role among the native fascist leaders. Before Pearl Harbor, at a

rally of the American Nationalist Party in New York, he told a crowd of listeners that he was "proud to be water boy to a man of the calibre of the General," meaning George Van Horn Mosely.

Among anti-Semites, Hudson has few, if any equals for his outspoken, vile propaganda. In various issues of America in Danger he has falsely charged the Jews with every calamity that has happened to civilization in ancient and modern history, from assassination of Lincoln to the beginning of World War II.

The Guildsman

Devoted to the Cause of a Corporative Order

.....

Sovietism, Anti-Nazism & America Peace Plans and Corporatism Co-operators in Trouble Communists Loyal to America?

**The Truth About "Liberation"
Who's Responsible for the War?
Prediction of the Antichrist Era**

March, 1945

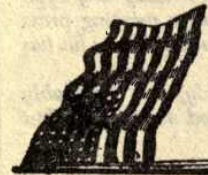
Out at Germantown, Illinois, Edward A. Koch publishes The Guildsman and he makes no bones about its aims—a corporate or fascist state to replace that of our democracy.

Koch's publication, in the past, has praised Hitler for wiping out the heresy of "liberalism." Koch has had the effrontery, even during the height of America's war against Hitler Germany to write, in the October, 1942 issue of The Guildsman:

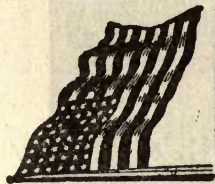
"Whatever our country's proper and legitimate objectives in the war may be, we believe that the destruction of Nazism (and 'fascism' generally) should not be among them. . . . Concealing or distorting the good things in fascism will be detrimental to our country's future."

When publisher Koch was hauled on the carpet for quizzing in December, 1942, he stoutly maintained that his activities were "decidedly pro-American."

It is hardly believable, but The Guildsman is still printed and circulated. Check the date line on the above issue—March 1945.



I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all



AMERICA SPEAKS

No. 29

WILLIAM KULLGREN, EDITOR

ATASCADERO, CALIFORNIA,

MARCH, 1948

10 cents

Frankfurter Over White House

By HENRY H. KLEIN
(Copyrighted 1948 by Henry H. Klein.)
Felix Frankfurter's pernicious brain

assistant to United States Attorney
Henry L. Simson, in the southern dis-
trict of New York, where he remained

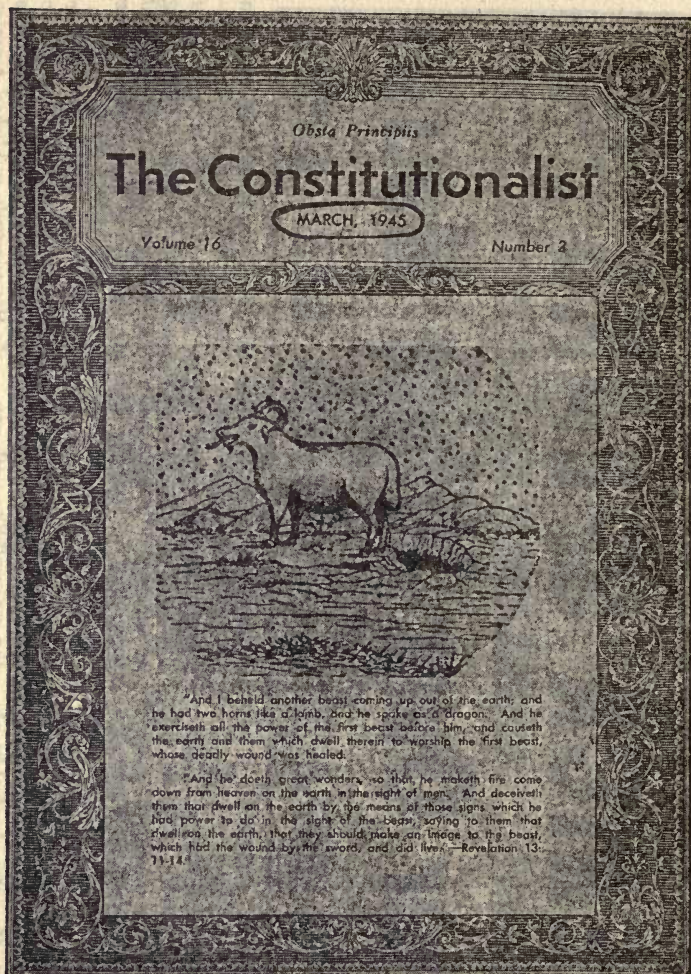
the trials, that they were unfairly con-
victed. Before that time, Frankfurter
took up the cudgels for Mooney and

an International Labor Conference in
Europe which was undoubtedly a meet-
ing of the Fourth Communist Interna-

America Speaks, published at Atascadero, California, is pro-
moted by William Kullgren who had the dubious and highly sus-
picious distinction of entering actively into the native Fifth Column
movement as one of its most energetic agents in 1933, the year
Hitler took power in Germany. Kullgren was one of the original
defendants in the trial of alleged seditionists held in Washington,
D. C., charged with conspiring to overthrow the United States
government in connivance with the Nazi Party chiefs in the Reich.
A highlight of Kullgren's activities reveals that he disseminated
roughly 250 various kinds of pro-Nazi publications and pamphlets
on the West Coast and throughout the 48 states; he insidiously
promoted the circulation of the notorious anti-Semitic forgeries,
The Protocols of the Elders of Zion.

Something of the Goebbels star-worshipping type, Kullgren began
his publishing career back in 1933 with the issuance of the astro-
logically tinged Beacon Light, adopting the clever method of
putting across pro-Nazi propaganda under a milky-way covering
of astrological "predictions." It was Kullgren who aroused national
indignation in 1941 by declaring he "saw in the stars" a "grave
danger of assassination" of President Roosevelt in 1942.

"Which of the two courses (death or impeachment) will take
place," Kullgren wrote, "I am not prepared to say. I prefer to
paint the picture to show you the forces in operation, and to leave
the responsibility with you. . . ." His currently published America
Speaks is as thoroughly un-American as the other sheets he has
published.



The Constitutionalist, backed by one of America's most active and dangerous fascist demagogues, Gerald B. Winrod, of Wichita, Kansas, spreads hate beneath a thin veneer of religious preachments. Winrod was among the group indicted by the government for alleged sedition.

Winrod's publishing career has at times been spectacular. Prior to America's entry into the war he ran the circulation of another of his hate sheets, The Defender, up to 125,000 readers. Virtually any type of disruptionist literature that came his way soon found a printing press and the number of disruptive pamphlets, leaflets and publications he has turned out runs into the millions.

The Constitutionalist is still being published monthly, and invariably carries on its front page a religious quotation . . . aimed at anything but peace and brotherly love.

Women's Voice

VOL. 3—No. 8

CHICAGO, ILL., THURSDAY, MARCH 29, 1945

Price 10 Cents

SPIRITUAL LIFE ALL

"Old Hickory" Pay All

THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION LEAVES DEBTS FOR POSTERITY TO PAY

This is a Christian Nation, and yet, it has been controlled, for the last fifty years, by the International Bankers. They have given us three wars and four business depressions, and we can stand no more.

With Baruch, Rosenman, Morgenthau, Frankfurter, Biddle, and Hillman, in high authority, with no re-

"There cannot in my judgment be the least danger that the President will by any practicable intrigue ever be able to continue himself one moment in office, much less perpetuate himself in it, but in the last stage of corrupted morals and political depravity."

—GEORGE WASHINGTON.

THE COMING MAN

Oh, not for the great departed,
Who formed our country's laws,
And not for the bravest-hearted
Who died in freedom's cause,
And not for some living hero
To whom all bend the knee

Easter Day Sacred

KINGDOM OF HEAVEN HERE AND NOW FOR GOD IS LOVE

What did Jesus teach? Was Jesus a deceiver? He said: "If ye love Me, keep My commandments" and He gave only two: "Love God with all you heart and your neighbor as yourself." Isn't that easy? He didn't say: Go to church, give money to this or that; He didn't say: Build great churches. He made it all so joyous so simple. A child can understand and extent "ye become as a

The Women's Voice is the mouthpiece of veteran rabble rouser Mrs. Lyril Van Hyning of Chicago, one of the most dangerous professional mothers in the country and head of the avowedly fascist-minded "We, the Mothers Mobilize for America." Women's Voice is published monthly and spread by mail and bundles to every section of the country.

Mrs. Van Hyning is one of the principal sparkplugs of the Chicago Axis and is in cahoots with Chicago's Dilling, and similar un-American characters. Women's Voice is considered by anti-fascist investigators as one of the most subversive of the hate sheets still being published in America, since it is directed to mothers of men in the service, who, because of emotional upset and worry over their loved ones, are more likely to be vulnerable to the propaganda contained in Mrs. Van Hyning's female flamethrower,

PATRIOTIC RESEARCH BUREAU

For the Defense of Christianity and Americanism.

ELIZABETH DILLING, DIRECTOR

ROOM 708

8 South Dearborn Street

CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

Dear Friends:

"Hold fast your dreams, nor ever let them fade away,

January, 1945

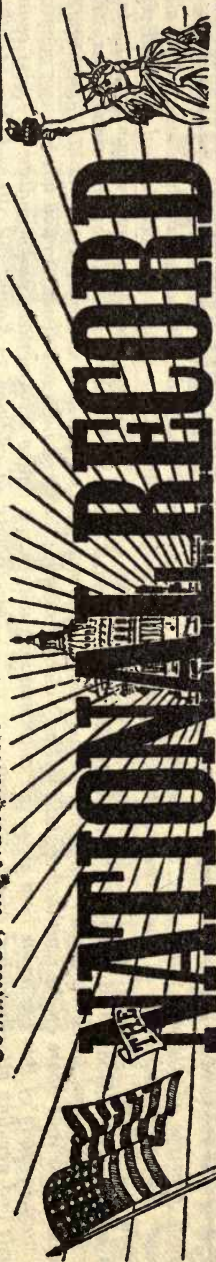
Mrs. Elizabeth (Liz to her friends) Dilling publishes the widely circulated "news letter" reproduced above. This Patriotic Research Bureau letter follows the long established pattern (familiar to fifth column investigators) of covering its vicious contents with a sugary coating of poesy, or distortions of religious passages or phrases. To add to her own circulation Mrs. Dilling uses membership lists and "sucker" lists of other propagandists, such as Hudson and Joseph P. Kamp—and those supplied by the professional "mothers." Mrs. Dilling has from time to time acted as lobbyist for various and similar groups. She is still active, peddling her fascist wares.

"mothers" groups at the nation's capital. She gained national notoriety several years ago by publishing a book, *The Red Network*, in which she branded as Communist such groups as the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; the YMCA; the American Federation of Teachers; the Civil Liberties Union and a host of well-known liberal-minded individuals.

She has collaborated with most of the better known fascist-minded individuals active in fifth column organizations, and has appeared on platforms at America First rallies, at those of the Bund

The National Record Is the Official Organ of the American Nationalists' Committee, the Nationalists' Confederation and the Nationalist Party

Sec. 562 F. L. & R.
U. S. Postage Paid
Washington 5, D. C.



Vol. 3, No. 1

WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL, 1945

Price 10 Cents

IS IT TO BE GOODBYE AMERICA?

**Let America Live
Her Own Life**

Communists in the Army

**Are You Assisting
In the Liquidation**

Because it's not clearly in the same category as the others all alert Americans who treasure their liberties should keep an eye upon—The National Record!

Publisher and avowed claimant to national leadership, if and when a nationalist movement develops, is former Senator Robert Rice Reynolds. The National Record is the successor to the night-shirt American Vindicator formerly published by the Senator.

A spark-plug of the defunct America First of pre-Pearl Harbor ill-fame and now loudly vocal in proclaiming the formation of a Nationalist Party which he intends to head, Reynolds has a questionable record which runs back to the days when he elstted

Germany and returned to this country with words of praise for the dictatorships.

Immediately following his return from Germany, Reynolds inserted this choice bit into the Congressional Record: "The dictators are doing what is best for their people. I say it is high time we found out how they are doing it and why they are progressing so rapidly. . . . Hitler and Mussolini have a date with Destiny. It's foolish to oppose them, so why not play ball with them?"

The type of defeatist propaganda in which The National Record specializes can be seen in the above headline of the April 1945 issue.

CHRIST
FOR THE
CRISIS

WESTERN VOICE

FROM OUT OF THE ROCKIES

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO THE EDITOR HARVEY H. SPRINGER, P.O. BOX 90, ENGLEWOOD, COLORADO

Office: 3170 S. Broadway, Ph. 942.

ENGLEWOOD, COLORADO,

Thursday, April 12, 1945

VOLUME VIII, NO. 47

TWO WOMEN GRINDING AT THE MILL, THE ONE SHALL BE TAKEN AND THE OTHER LEFT

A Recent Radio Message by Pat Withrow

Editor's Note: Brother Pat returns to Englewood Baptist Tabernacle pulpit April 22nd for 8 great days. Plan to attend Good Morning Everybody:

For our Scripture this morning we come to the fourteenth chapter of John, the third verse, and pick up this sentence.

Typical example of clerical fascism in the nation is editor Reverend Harvey H. Springer of the Western Voice, another California hate sheet. Springer, as the "Cowboy Evangelist," ranges from the West Coast, to Chicago and Detroit in the Midwest. Quite fitting and in keeping with Springer's mob-violence philosophy is the rope-noose on the masthead of the Western Voice, Chief stock in trade of this particular hate sheet are anti-Semitic outbursts and needling attacks against Allied war aims.

Springer, close associate and friend of Gerald L. K. Smith, has often appeared at Smith-organized rallies and also has close ties

"FRET NOT"

"In nothing be anxious; but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be known unto God. And the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus." Phil. 4:6-7.

Every Christian, I suppose, has some particular passage of Scripture that has been found helpful above all others. This is my favorite. I have come to it in times of stress and strain. I have found it a strong staff upon which to lean when my feet were in slippery places. I have found it a comforting pillow on which to rest my

with Reverend Gerald B. Winrod, one of those indicted for alleged sedition. Western Voice adopts the ecclesiastical tone and phraseology of many such hate sheets and preys upon some backward-minded Fundamentalists, especially in the rural areas. Editor Springer has a reputation as a hard worker in his chosen profession of spreading race hate and dissension and has intimate connections with many native un-American propagandists. He also counts as his friends, in addition to Smith and Winrod, Joe McWilliams, Father Charles E. Coughlin, and the professional "moms," Van Hyning, Dilling, Waters et al.

**Fearless
Courageous**

DON'T SWAP FREEDOM
FOR INTERNATIONALISM

VOL. VIII—No. 29



The X-RAY



**Truthful
Impartial**

AN AMERICAN PAPER FOR
THE AMERICAN-MINDED

A Beacon for Taxpayers and Honest Labor

Price 5 Cents

Muncie, Indiana, Saturday (April 7, 1945)

Statement Made By 'Lawd' Halifax Shows We Have 'Agayn' Been Suckers for England

**ENTANGLEMENT IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS
MEANS LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE FOR U. S. A.**

The kind of person you would expect Court Asher, publisher of the fascist X-Ray, to be, was indicated in a news item on May 26, 1942 when the Post Office banned his vicious sheet from the mails. (The ban was thereafter rescinded!)

This news item declared that while appearing at a Post Office hearing, Asher admitted he had been convicted during the Volstead days of violating state and federal liquor laws. But he boasted he hadn't been a "petty bootlegger." At the same session he admitted to being an ex-Ku Kluxer.

During the hearing a prosecutor for the Attorney General's office

N. N. S. Sauce for the Goose; Sauce for the Gander?

(Nationalist News Service)
Gerald L. K. Smith, Director
Associate Editors—R. E. Legant,
Ruth Lobbeck, E. M. Smith
Washington, D. C.

221—Roosevelt has promised much of China to Stalin if he will help whip Japan.

222—FDR is anxious to extend his lease until 1949. This will take him safely through the 1948 campaign.

Drew Pearson's column on March 29 was very interesting. Pearson disclosed the meeting of 1,000 JEW leaders at the Hotel Astor, in New York, where there were repercussions and criticism directed at Roosevelt for his remark that he "learned more about the Jews in five minutes while talking with the Arab ruler Ibn Saud than he could have learned in a dozen letters."

Congressman Celler, a Jew, of New York was one of the most vehement critics of Roosevelt, says Drew Pearson.

Said Congressman Celler, a Jew: "There were one million Jews in and around my district in New York who voted for Roosevelt UNANIMOUSLY," said Congressman Celler.

"their vote MADE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HIS VIC-

told Postmaster General Walker: "This publication has engaged over a period of time in a sustained and systematic attack upon certain of our activities directly related to the war effort, as well as upon public morale generally. Furthermore, a parallelism has existed between material contained in The X-Ray since December 7, 1941, and certain of the major themes broadcast by enemies of this nation during the same period."

In 1942, the government charged Asher with circulating The X-Ray in more than 15 states. Since the ban was rescinded, copies have been seen regularly in almost twice that many states.

"Isn't it queer . . . that God still refuse
supremacy?"

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that
I will faithfully execute the office
of President of the United States, and
will, to the best of my ability, preserve,
protect, and defend the Constitution of
the United States."

\$2.50 PER YEAR—SINGLE COPY 5 CENTS

SAN DIEGO (5) CALIFORNIA MONDAY, APRIL 9, 1945

VOLUME XV, No. 29.

Jews Can Do No Wrong: In Pittsburgh

'Sacred Cow' Ordinance Passed by City Council

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS INFRINGED

"When the gods wish to destroy they first
make mad."

The Los Angeles Jewish Voice, of Los Angeles, exhibits the proverbial Jewish naivete when it assumes that Jews have special rights in this world not inherent in the Bill of Rights of

was carried on by chaplains in uniform in all the warring armies, the "Belgian bulge" reminded the world that unconditional surrender to a bloody and brutal enemy is never enjoyed in prospect or in fact, especially not when the prospect is slave labor under the Russian knute, for friend and foe. One must remember that in Russia today slave labor herded behind bar-

Indictment of C. Leon De Aryan for alleged sedition and conspiring with the German Government did not halt the printing and circulating of The Broom, anti-Semitic, Goebbels-line sheet. Notice in the above reproduction of the April 9, 1945 issue of The Broom De Aryan's presentation of the activities of Hitler's werewolf assassins.

Of Greek and Polish parentage, De Aryan adopted his Nazified name as a "symbol" of his "aryan" philosophy. Tightlipped and closemouthed, this peddler of hate aims his heaviest artillery against Jewish and Catholic Americans. Court records from the

werewolves as wild beings who hide in forests and "pounce on all God's creatures with towering rage."

WEREWOLVES GO ON AIR

LONDON.—The Nazis officially claimed that the assassins of the mayors of occupied Aachen and Meschede were members of the "werewolf" underground terrorist organization to resist Allied occupation forces.

A radio describing itself as an underground werewolf station took the air with claims that werewolves already had murdered some American army officers, including three of high rank,

"The first shipment of Matzos is ready in England, we are informed. So is baker Noah Schisel who volunteered to make our Hamantashen for Purim."

News of biological and sentimental events: Sgt. David Mendelsohn's daughter Alene being born in Los Angeles and Cpl. Irving Perlick also hearing of the birth of a daughter. News of new trees growing in Palestine: "We're proud to say, 'Forward's' editor reports, 'that the Timberwolves reach their goal and planted 104 trees in Palestine for Hamisho Oor Bishvat. A goodly number of additional trees were planted by our own neighboring tribes. Something."

Washington trial for alleged sedition reveal De Aryan to have been born Constantine Legenopol in Rumania in 1886. Migrating to this country in the early 1900's, he joined the American army under the name of Kostl which he changed to De Aryan soon after Hitler came to power.

The Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the 55th California Legislature, in Sacramento, California, in 1949, characterizes De Aryan's The Broom as "notoriously anti-Semitic, isolationist and anti-Roosevelt." The same report stated De Aryan was dishonorably discharged from the United States Army in 1914.



AID AND COMFORT

IT is vitally important to all Americans to know about the fascist trends in their country. It is important to know who the men are behind them. But that is not enough.

It is equally important to understand how native fascism obtained a foothold here, and how it can be defeated and cast out. In this chapter, let us examine a few of the factors which account for fascism's ability to attract even a small proportion of our people.

It is strange, certainly, that in a country where the democratic tradition is so strong and where the hatred of dictatorship and oppression is so ingrained that fascism could make even the slightest headway. What accounts, then, for the ugly fact that it has not only made headway, but that it has long been, and is increasingly becoming a national menace?

There are many factors. To undertake an explanation of them all would require many books. In this limited space we can examine only some of them, the salient factors.

American fascism has been erected on the same foundations as fascism in other lands: The playing of group prejudice, one against another, the encouragement of religious antagonisms, the building up of hatred against minorities, both political and religious, the spreading of dissatisfaction with govern-

ment, and the desire of many short-sighted industrialists to discredit an administration because they mistakenly assumed that the administration alone was the source of all labor gains and the advance of social service legislation.

No single factor has been seized upon by the fascists to explore and none has been neglected. Where it has been possible to find an issue which had religious implications they have crusaded on the issue of religion. They have tried to subvert the clergy, and the natural and worthy ambition of the clergy to protect the church. They have found religious issues in more than one strictly political issue.

When labor was pinched by rising costs in a war market and a stabilized wage, the fascists attempted to turn white labor against Negro.

When, in remarkably few cases, strikes broke out, the fascists attempted to turn servicemen against all labor. And worse than that, the fascists fomented strikes, encouraged outlaw and wildcat strikes, hoping to discredit sober and loyal labor leadership—and then cried out against all labor.

The fascists have even cashed in on the antipathy of some industrialists to any change in the status quo. They have cried wolf about Communism—and been able to collect on it—for their activities have all too often been financed by men who have been glad to join with them in using the bogey of Communism to attempt once and for all to smash unionism.

And, of course, the fascists have cried up anti-Semitism. They have denounced Jews as Communists and capitalists—and sometimes the same Jew as both. For, they have concluded that if they cannot divide the country any other way, they can at least stir a portion of its citizenry to some action in this way.

During a war which America had to win if it were to continue its existence as an independent country, the fascists attacked the allies which were helping America to win that war.

And in all these things they have seized upon every possible means of support. They have used whatever weapon was at hand. It is unfortunate that they found many.

Part of the press in America provided weapons. The newspapers and magazines which zealously reported labor quarrels

and strikes, but which never interested themselves in production figures, in housing for workers, in transportation difficulties of workers, provided good weapons. The newspapers and magazines which reported the high incomes of workers, the supposedly wild spending by American labor and never reported the actual wages, or the wages in terms of what these wages bought in rent and food and bonds; which never reported the sacrifices of labor, or its casualties in war production, which reported its overtime in terms of dollars and cents, but not in lost sleep, in illnesses and in time spent away from families, all provided stout weapons to fascism.

Nor was this done exclusively by the spiteful little hate sheets and the whisper-mongers. This is the record of a section of the reputable press, of some of the large-circulation newspapers and magazines. It was they, too, who printed the stories which reflected unfavorably on America's allies, the stories which the fascists found so helpful. They printed columns of strategy which reflected even on the high command, urging action in the East when America and her allies were battling, and even when they were winning, in the West.

And in some of the diatribes of the more wayward press against the government, the fascists found aid and comfort. When this section of the press shrieked that the government was being taken in by reds and that the war administration was controlled by Communist labor leaders, the average American recognized it as a combination of campaign hysteria and falsehood. But the fascists recognized it and used it, as a weapon.

And even in the speeches of America's public men, the fascists found material they could use. Even from the words of some American representatives and senators, the fascists shaped weapons. Even speeches delivered in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States were diverted or used by the fascists, gave them aid and comfort.

It is not possible here to examine all of them, either the congressmen or their speeches. But it is interesting to consider some of them and to read some of the excerpts of speeches and

public addresses, to read them and reflect upon them in the light of recent history.

As Senator from Montana, Burton K. Wheeler is a man of some influence in America. His quoted views can be said to carry some weight. During 1941, Wheeler made a nationwide speaking tour sponsored by the America First Committee, one of the organizations named in the first two indictments for alleged sedition as a vehicle used by the defendants to spread their propaganda.

Gerald W. Johnson, writing in the July 8, 1944 issue of *Collier's* magazine, says of Burton K. Wheeler, "He was the idol of the America First Committee, he was praised extravagantly by every German and Japanese agent in the country, he was in the group cited by Doctor Paul Josef Goebbels as the only true Americans, his speeches were not only quoted in the German press but were circulated extensively by various extremely active persons who are now in jail."

Elizabeth Dilling in the March 21, 1941 issue of her Patriotic Research Bureau Newsletter talks of the "friendly visit I enjoyed with him (Wheeler) before leaving Washington . . . we saw eye to eye on every topic discussed."

It is not fair or possible to condemn a man utterly because his words have been quoted by undesirables as being in agreement with their own opinions. They could have been quoted against his wishes. But let us see what Senator Wheeler himself said over the past five or six years which have been such critical ones for America.

In a radio address given on December 31, 1940, he said:

"I firmly believe the German people want peace just as any people prefer peace to war—and the offer of a just, reasonable and generous peace will more quickly and effectively crumble Hitlerism and break the morale of the German people than all the bombers that could be dispatched over Berlin."

During the entire pre-Pearl Harbor period Senator Wheeler resorted to similar propaganda which confused the significance of the war against fascism and which tended to prevent us from

aiding the Allies. Besides calling Britain, "the greatest aggressor in the pages of history," he said:

"War—what for? Because you can't trust Hitler? I agree you can't trust Hitler, but neither can you trust Stalin, Mussolini, or Churchill."

(America First Bulletin, Sept. 27, 1941 p. 4)

Then he said, on November 3, 1941:

"... I respect the fight the Communists are putting up. I only wish to God that Russia and the United States could get England to stand up and fight as the Communists have, and if they would there might be a different end to the war."

(*Cong. Record*, Nov. 3, 1941, p. 8434, 5)

Later, he contributed to the distrust of Russia as well as England, saying. "... the chances ... are that when the war is over Russia will dominate Europe and Communism will probably sweep the greater part of Europe." (*Cong. Record*, Oct. 29, 1943, p. 8893, 5.)

On December 28, 1943 the *Washington Times Herald* reported:

"Senator Burton K. Wheeler . . . yesterday questioned the advisability and fairness of Allied planning for the cross-channel invasion of Europe, asserting that this country is taking a 'tremendous gamble' in agreeing to provide 73 per cent of the troops needed to storm Hitler's stronghold.

"'Why should we furnish more than an equal share of the men for the invasion?' Senator Wheeler asked."

On December 29, 1943, the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, Hitler's personal paper printed the following story:

"The American Senator Wheeler criticized Roosevelt's intention to make American troops bear the brunt of the campaign against western Europe. 'I believe,' he is quoted as saying, 'I am speaking for the American people as a whole, when I say that we should consider it very clearly before challenging

American youth for the enormous sacrifices. The percentage of Americans taking part in the actions is much too high.”

(NOTE: this is translated from the German) -

This, of course, was the drive which finally ended with complete Nazi defeat and unconditional surrender. Wheeler had also attacked that. On June 19, 1944, he had said:

“What do we demand of the enemy before we stop killing him? . . . Are we to continue to fight interminably—exhausting our financial and economic and natural resources—and even more important, the flower of our young manhood, until we have become a nation of women, old men and cripples, bankrupt in men and materials?”

(*Congressional Record*, June 19, 1944, p. A3362-4)

and again, as late as December, 1944—just a few months before Germany did capitulate—in unconditional surrender:

“I say without fear of contradiction that some of the statements which have been made, notably one which has been made by Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Morgenthau, have cost the lives of many American boys. The longer we continue saying to these people, ‘We are going to demand unconditional surrender,’ whatever that means, we are costing the lives of thousands of boys every day.”

(*Congressional Record*, Dec. 19, 1944, p. 9852)

and finally in a statement which was made when victory was as certain as anything can be in war, in January of 1945:

“ . . . I would conclude by urging, with all the seriousness at my command that the American people demand the abandonment by their Government and their allies of the brutal and costly slogan of ‘unconditional surrender.’ Until this is effected, we shall go on blowing Europe and our own boys to bits without rhyme or reason. . . . I repeat, without any hesitation, whatsoever, that, in my judgment, unconditional surrender is an asinine policy.”

(*Congressional Record*, Jan. 6, 1945, p. 87-8)

While America was at war against Germany such statements were helpful to fascists and provided weapons for American fascists in their struggle to divide the American people.

But most indicative of how Mr. Wheeler's words could be used by others to attack on either side of the fence against the same objectives are two of his statements on the Atlantic Charter. When the Atlantic Charter was announced in the summer of 1941, Senator Wheeler derided it, saying in Oklahoma City, in September of that year:

"We Americans have always prided ourselves on our practicability. Ask yourselves—what do these eight points mean—if they mean anything.

"They mean first that Britain and America are to be the two armed powers of the world. . . . If we attempt to enforce the eight points, American citizens will pay the bill and American boys will be policing the entire world."

But a little more than two years later, Mr. Wheeler apparently had changed his mind. He said:

"The Atlantic Charter is not simply the expression of a pious thought. It represents the hopes and aspirations of a great people, not only for themselves, but for mankind. It forms the moral basis on which a better world must of necessity be founded."

(Congressional Record, Oct. 29, 1943, p. 8893-5)

The native fascists have not yet endorsed the Atlantic Charter. But, if, in their murky and devious scheme of things they do, they can also quote Senator Burton K. Wheeler to support them.

In the days when all the victories in the second World War were Nazi and Fascist victories, the fascists in America were doing their best to keep the United States from giving aid to the enemies of the fascists abroad. They were loud in condemning England and Russia, they were equally loud in assuring the people of America that the Axis meant us no harm, and that even should we dare to arm ourselves against Axis aggres-

sion, it would be a hopeless gesture, because we could not win in a war against them. At this critical time there were many besides the fascists who believed this.

At this critical time there were other men—in the halls of Congress, House and Senate, whose words were echoed by American fascists in their endeavor to get these points across.

In the Senate on August 4, 1941, Senator C. Wayland Brooks of Illinois, speaking about the draft extension measure, said:

“During the debate on the pending measure we have heard a great deal of discussion about emergency, about peril, about national unity, about morale, and about the will to fight; and it occurs to me that the peril we are in, if we are in peril, is the peril of uncertainty as to what move the Administration may make next to get us closer to a shooting participation in Europe’s war.”

Other speeches of Senator Brooks in the same year carried similar arguments. In a speech delivered before the Town Hall Forum of the Air on April 4, 1941, he said:

“By subtle subterfuge this great, free country, blessed by God Almighty, and favored by geographic location, is being forced to stick its neck out more than 3,000 miles to be sure that it gets into a war. We’ve called the Axis powers names. We have furnished their enemies guns, tanks and ammunition. We’ve opened our ports to the nations fighting against the Axis powers, and will recondition their warships when crippled. We’ve confiscated Axis ships in our ports. We’ve changed our laws to help defeat them. They have chosen not to declare war on us. But no, we won’t let them get away with that.”

Most Americans have been thankful for the measures that Mr. Brooks condemns, seeing in them the first moves which helped to bring about Axis defeat. But at the time, the enemies of America found it useful to quote Mr. Brooks.

It would be monotonous to continue such quotations. An examination of the *Congressional Record* for more Brooks’

speeches would reward any voter of Illinois especially, and generally any American who wonders about the Senator from Illinois.

Senator William Langer of North Dakota has given a truly spectacular example of how a speech on the Senate floor can be used by others to give aid and comfort to those who have tried to promote fascist doctrines in the United States.

William Langer, incidentally, is a former Governor of North Dakota, elected in 1932. In 1934, he was removed as head of the state relief agency, charged with making FERA employees contribute to his political newspaper, *The Leader*. Later, Langer and four others were convicted of conspiracy to defraud the government. On July 18, 1934, he was removed from the office of governor. A year later the Court of Appeals set aside the verdict.

Langer entered the Senate in 1940, though at the time, charges were filed against him by some of his North Dakota constituents and the question of his fitness to occupy a seat in the Senate was referred to the Senate Privileges and Elections Committee.

On March 2, 1943, Langer addressed the Senate on the subject of George Sylvester Viereck. Viereck had been convicted of not registering as a Nazi agent and had been sentenced to jail. This conviction was reversed on a technicality by the United States Supreme Court. Later, Viereck was tried again, found guilty and sent to jail. Langer's statement, which follows, was made after the reversal of the original conviction and before Viereck was tried the second time, convicted and jailed. Langer said:

"... because of the wrong conviction, Mr. Viereck has been put to a tremendous expense. Besides that, he has served about a year in jail. I am, therefore, giving notice that I shall submit a resolution asking for a full and complete investigation of this persecution and asking that a committee be appointed to determine the amount of costs that Mr. Viereck was put to and to decide on a sum which in their opinion, will reasonably compensate him for the time he spent in

jail, and to ask for that sum of money so that Mr. Viereck will get such justice as Congress may be able to give him, inadequate as it may be, to wipe out the wrong which has been done."

Later Langer defended, in several speeches to the Senate, the defendants on trial for alleged seditious conspiracy against the Government. On September 21, 1944, he said:

"I again call on the Department of Justice to stop this prosecution which strikes at the roots of political freedom, the thing we are fighting for all over the world today."

At that time, Burton K. Wheeler rose in the Senate and said:

"I think it is one of the most disgraceful proceedings that have ever been brought in the United States of America.

"I think the Senator from North Dakota is rendering a service to the people of the country in taking up this matter."

There are members of the House whose statements over a period of years have been equally valuable as quotable material to fascist Americans. It should be made plain here that in political debate a representative or senator, in honest partisanship, could easily say something that might be misconstrued, or quoted to advantage, even by his political enemies. In opposing the administration or party in power a representative or senator could also be quoted, unfairly, in such a way that honest opposition to an administrative measure could be misconstrued.

In quoting the following representatives and indicating their stand on some measures, I wish to make it plain that every consideration should be given to the fact that a statement made in 1940 should not be judged in the light of 1945. A congressman who was against aiding the enemies of Germany and Italy may have made an error in judgment. But he cannot be accused of voting against his country's interests. That would also be true of his voting on other measures taken to prepare America for war.

But once America was at war, after December 7, 1941, and fighting with other countries against a common foe, criticism of those countries engaged in the common enterprise does become somewhat suspect—though it is still not to be construed as giving any *conscious* comfort or aid to the dissensionists and disruptionists. These people made use of such congressional utterances. That does not imply that the utterances were made for that purpose.

There may be some question, therefore, as to why the representatives whose statements follow have been singled out for quotation of this sort. The answer is that consideration has been given to their voting record as well as to their speeches, and in most cases to the frequency with which they have been quoted in the disruptionist press.

In order to save space, information has been condensed to quotations, identifying sentences and occasionally other pertinent information.

Clare Hoffman of Michigan: February 16, 1942:

"I am beginning to wonder whether we are fighting to preserve our land, our nation, or whether we are fighting for the preservation of the British Empire."

February 18, 1942:

"It matters little whether Hitler gets us and skins us from the top down or whether our ally, Joe Stalin, gets us and skins us from the heels up."

February 22, 1945, speaking of a pamphlet issued by Joseph Kamp's Constitutional Education League:

"The pamphlet to which reference is made (*Join the CIO and Help Build A Soviet America*) is the one I hold in my hand. It was written by Joseph Kamp. I commend it to all those who believe in America, who have no particular use for the communists, who are in favor of constitutional government.

". . . I bought them (the pamphlets), I paid for them. I paid for sending out those that were sent out and distributed. I did not pay for them out of Con-

gressional salary, either; I paid for them with some money I had before I ever came to Washington. I still have a little—not much, but a little; and I am going to buy some more of these pamphlets and hand them to folks. I only wish a million people could read a copy.”

On January 16, 1941, Mr. Hoffman inserted in the *Congressional Record* a speech made by Gerald L. K. Smith over the air on December 22, 1940. Mr. Hoffman has been quoted in *Social Justice* in May 27, 1940; Sept. 16, 1940; Oct. 28, 1940; Mar. 10, 1941; Jan. 12, 1942; Feb. 16, 1942; Feb. 23, 1942; Apr. 13, 1942. He was quoted in *America In Danger* Mar. 21, 1941; Apr. 21, 1941; June 30, 1941; July 7, 1941; Aug. 16, 1941; Feb. 24, 1942; Mar. 17, 1942; Mar. 26, 1942; April 29, 1942; in *Publicity* Mar. 6, 1941; Apr. 23, 1941; Oct. 9, 1941; Feb. 5 1942; Feb. 26, 1942; and the *Patriotic Research Bureau* Mar. 2, 1941; Mar. 21, 1941 and *Roll Call* Apr. 21, 1940; Apr. 14, 1941.

Fred Smith of Ohio, speaking on the question of Selective Service on June 20, 1940, said:

“With a brutal frankness, he (Franklin Delano Roosevelt) now tells our people he intends to make this nation completely into a totalitarian state, that we must go the way of Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin. The course of complete regimentation he is now attempting to force upon us is identical with that pursued by them.”

This was a year and a half before Pearl Harbor, during the time when the Axis countries still counted on having time to conquer Europe before America could arm and interfere with their plans, the time when, in America, the native fascists wanted to keep America from arming.

And less than a year later, when Hitler was threatening to invade England after his army had triumphantly swept across France, Smith was not as concerned with the German dictator as he was with the threat of dictatorship at home. Speaking in the House on March 11, 1941 while the question of Lend-Lease was being debated, he said:

"I must vote against this resolution. I am not going to be duped by any parliamentary trickery. . . . I consider a vote for the lend-lease bill a vote for dictatorship, war and national bankruptcy."

That summer Hitler swung to the east, and on July 23, 1941 attacked Russia. On that day Smith spoke over the radio, saying:

". . . I consider any alliance between our country and Russia as an act of the utmost depravity and fraud with the most dire consequences to our Nation."

Later the Russians stopped the German army, for the first time, at Stalingrad.

Lend-Lease supplies had helped Britain to hold out, had helped the Russians to hold the German tide. As late as March 9, 1943, Smith said, on the floor of the House:

"More and more we in America are coming to realize that there is a limit on what this nation is able to produce. We are reaching the place where we are feeling the pinch of rationing. We are reaching the end of our manpower and shall shortly be compelled to cut down the size of our army or cut down on production.

"Under Lend-Lease, American goods have been distributed over the whole earth. Forty-six nations are eligible to receive these gifts, though only a few of these nations are actually engaged in the war. We may shortly come to realize that goods intended as war aids have been scattered so widely and spread so thinly as to be ineffective anywhere."

Whatever Mr. Smith's motives, no matter how earnestly he may have sought to further only America's interests, the ironic and bitter fact is that Fred Smith of Ohio was widely quoted—and praised—in such subversive sheets as William Dudley Pelley's *Liberation*; Charles B. Hudson's *America In Danger*; James True's *Industrial Control Reports*; William Kullgren's *America Speaks* and Court Asher's *X-Ray*.

Pearl Harbor came as a shock to almost every American, and

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yet most of us were aware of the rising tension in the East. Most of us were aware that Japan was a threat.

But, less than a month before Pearl Harbor, Dewey Short, representative from Missouri inserted in the *Congressional Record* an editorial from the *Washington Times-Herald* of November 17, 1941 which said in part. "Of all the Oriental people, the Japanese are the most nearly like us."

After Pearl Harbor, Mr. Short spoke often, attacking President Roosevelt and blaming him for it.

Before that, he had opposed conscription and rearming. In discussing conscription on September 4, 1940, he said:

"Little did we realize that we would live to see the hour when a president, in time of peace, when we are at peace with all the world, when no one has attacked us, when no one has insulted us, would ask the American people to grant him the dictatorial and tyrannical power to conscript the young manhood of this nation. . . ."

And before that, Dewey Short speeches were printed in *Liberation*, the magazine edited by William Dudley Pelley—and delivered by Mr. Short on the floor of the House of Representatives three days later.

On August 28, 1940 *Liberation* printed another speech by Short—which was not delivered on the floor of the House until ten days later.

In 1943, on October 11, when America had been in the war for almost two years, when it was fighting along with Britain and Russia to defeat the Axis, Mr. Short commenting on the resolution calling for the investigation of lend-lease, said:

"I want to congratulate the gentleman for introducing his resolution, because it is beginning to dawn upon the American people that on his first visit to America Mr. Churchill took our coat back to England, on his second visit he took our pants, on the third visit he took our underwear, and before we get out of this mess he will skin us of our hide."

Mr. Short's speeches appeared in *Liberation* before America

was at war and before William Dudley Pelley was convicted of sedition. Statements similar to his on lend-lease and England were on other American tongues even in 1943. Mr. Short could not have intended his words to be used unpatriotically. But they could be used effectively, nonetheless, by any disruptive individual or group whose interest at the time centered on splitting the allies.

Jessie Sumner of Illinois was militantly against our entering the war against the Axis. In a speech delivered over the radio on November 8, 1941 and placed by her in the *Congressional Record* on November 12, 1941, she said:

"It is apparent now that the program for plunging America into war was designed as a series of successive war steps.

"It is no longer a secret that there never was any intention to leave a declaration of war to Congress. We are to be placed surreptitiously in such a state of shooting at sea, either against Japan or Germany, or both, that a congressional declaration of war would be nothing more than an empty endorsement of an administration war already being vigorously fought, the signal for which was the order to ships to shoot on sight.

"Of course, this method of leading the country into carnage by a series of secret acts was a shyster trick, deliberately designed to evade the supreme law of the land—the Constitution—which in positive terms preserves to the peoples' representatives in the Congress the exclusive power to declare war."

Much later, when America had whole-heartedly entered the war and when the high command had made the decision to join with Russia and Britain in making a supreme effort to defeat Hitler in the West, Miss Sumner said, on March 10, 1943:

"... We have our own war in the Pacific, but we have been persuaded that it is to the interest of America to aid in other war."

On March 14, 1944, a few months before the D-Day which led to final victory, Miss Sumner, speaking in the House, said:

"Look at the way American men and resources are being used by the partnership in Europe, how American aid is being used to buy us trouble now and in the future. It is being used for the purpose of aggression."

And in April, 1945, when the war in the West was almost won and the capitulation of Germany was almost a military certainty, Miss Sumner decided that:

"The unconditional surrender policy is an anachronism. What reason can there be for it? If it is because the President does not know what terms he wants to impose upon Germany, then multitudes of American soldiers may die needlessly because the President has not made up his mind what our soldiers are fighting for."

Jessie Sumner has been quoted in *The Defender*, *America Speaks*, *Broom*, *Cross and the Flag*, *X-Ray*, *Social Justice*, *Money*, *Gaelic American*, *Women's Voice*. She has the backing (whether or not she likes it) of the Women's League for Political Education run by Mrs. Grace Keefe, former secretary of We, The Mothers Mobilize for America and the support of United Mothers of America.

The record goes on. The Congressmen who opposed America's preparation for the inevitable war, who opposed aid to the countries which eventually became America's allies, have spoken in much the same words.

Harold Knutson, of Minnesota, in speaking against conscription, said on September 4, 1940:

"Personally I consider New Deal leaders more dangerous to the United States than are the totalitarian leaders because of their disregard of law and their undermining of democracy in America."

To be sure, his language has been a little stronger than most, and a little more vigorous in expressing opposition to the New Deal. On March 18, 1941, for instance, he said:

"I am wondering if some of this feeling displayed against Hitler down at the other end of the Avenue is not inspired by reason of the fact that Hitler has been crowding certain individuals for front-page notice in the newspapers."

Later his antagonism to Russia was also very vigorously expressed when, on September 15, 1941, he said:

"It must be cheering to the American people to know that they have Comrade Stalin and his bloody hands fighting at the side of those who are trying to maintain democracy and Christianity."

He joined, in 1943, with the congressmen who feared both Britain and Russia when he said, on May 10th of that year:

"We do not know what is going to be the situation when this war is over. We do not know what Stalin will want—he is going to get what he wants, you can be sure of that, and we do not know what Churchill has planned for us . . ."

Harold Knutson is the alleged author of the remark made famous mostly by its reprinting in the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter* on November 27, 1941 and the *Patriotic Research Bureau Newsletter* of October 1941, both of which reported the line "The only difference between a Nazi and a Communist is that a Nazi can't get a job in the New Deal." (The *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter* wrote it "Nudeal," otherwise the quotation was identical in both publications.)

Knutson has been praised and quoted by *Social Justice*, *Money*, *American Vindicator*, *Women United*.

John Rankin, of Mississippi, is not in this category. Mr. Rankin does not emphasize international dangers. He is concerned with the danger he sees in Negroes attaining full citizenship rights in the United States. He is quick to turn almost any question into a personal attack by John Rankin on the Jews. Both these facts have made him much quoted in such sheets as the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, *Liberation*, *The Defender*, *Patriotic Research Bureau Newsletter*,

X-Ray, America in Danger, Social Justice, Gaelic American and the American Vindicator.

Typical of Rankin's statements are these. On November 5, 1942 he said, in a speech called "Let's Save American Institutions," which he delivered in the House of Representatives:

"... I am going to give my administration some free advice. I want you to understand I am not only an American but am an Anglo-Saxon; I belong to that race that built our civilization, the Christian civilization that we now enjoy and the only one that mankind has ever enjoyed."

On December 3, 1943, again speaking in the House, Rankin said:

"... the international financiers, largely international Jews, with a few international Gentiles, such as the House of Morgan, own or control the gold supply of the world. They have controlled the gold through the gold standard ever since Rothschilds got financial control of England during the Napoleonic war. They are now crucifying civilization on a cross of gold."

And, referring to some citizens from New York who came down to urge passage of the Federal Soldier Vote Bill, Rankin said on December 18, 1943:

"A few days ago a gang of them came down here and paraded up and down the corridors of the House Office Building lobbying against what they call the Rankin bill. ... They looked like foreigners to me. I never saw such a wilderness of noses in my life."

Rankin has attacked Walter Winchell on the floor of the House, and has not hesitated to use openly anti-Semitic and highly unstatesmanlike expressions in doing so. On February 2, 1944, members of the House of Representatives were subjected to hearing one of their members attack their fellow American by calling him a "little kike."

When the Council on Dental Education of the American Dental Association was under fire because one of its employees

proposed limiting student enrollment in schools on a racial and religious basis, Rankin used the floor of America's Congress to say:

"Why attack the American Dental Association? That organization has done what it had a right to do. I wonder if the gentlemen know that 90 percent of the doctors who get on the civil service rolls are Jews. . . .

"Remember that the white Gentiles of this country have some rights."

Rankin's opposition to equal rights for Negroes was vigorously expressed during the discussion of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee when, on April 27, 1945, he denounced it as a Communistic measure and said that it was "the most dangerous piece of totalitarian, communistic legislation ever proposed in the Congress of the United States."

"Already the peaceful, hardworking Negroes of the country are disturbed because they know it would stir up race trouble such as this country has never known before.

"The passage of this legislation would probably mark the beginning of the end of this great Republic."

Statements such as Rankin's have been invaluable, certainly, to individuals or groups who have reason to inflame opinion against minorities. And it must be put on the American record somewhere that it is unfortunate for the United States of America that John Rankin provided such valuable ammunition to the enemies of American democracy.

PEOPLE ON OUR SIDE

FASCISM'S secret weapon in America is the average American's unwillingness to recognize fascism.

When a fiery cross burns on a hillside; when hoodlums storm through streets, bent on terror and destruction; when race riots flare up and disgrace America; when citizens of the United States are barred from their own homes, hooted or reviled on American streets; when even supposed law enforcement officers revile and beat American citizens; when free men, living in a free country can be roped and beaten and lynched; when an American cannot feel safe in his own town, on his own street, in his own home, some of us rise in true democratic anger and attempt to fight back. Some of us are alarmed. But most of us in America consider each incident as an isolated manifestation.

Most of us want to feel safe in our own country, and wanting to feel safe, prefer to build a wall of blindness around our own intelligence and tell ourselves that "one incident does not make a trend." Many a citizen of Italy who considered himself a true democrat, must so have shrugged off the murder of the Socialist Matteotti. Many a citizen of Germany who

considered himself a democrat might thus have sneered at the crazy little ranter who thought he had an army behind him the first time he dared to face constituted authority on Munich's streets, or been amused when the "insane Ludendorff" couldn't forget that he had helped to lose a war. Fascism fattens on such blindness.

When the rights of free unionism are abridged in America there are Americans who are strangely happy about it. When the rights of a member of a minority group in America are abridged, there are, sadly enough, Americans who are not concerned about it. Too few of us realize, to paraphrase Hemingway and John Donne, that when the rights of any of us are abridged or impugned or threatened our own rights are abridged by just that much. But, fortunately for all of us, most Americans, when they do take sober thought, arrive at good conclusions. Most Americans are true democrats with a firmly rooted belief in the sacredness of human and civil rights. Most Americans love and wish to protect and to keep inviolate their own liberties, their own freedom, their own human dignity, their civil and religious rights. Most Americans believe in the democratic spirit of America and understand that free unionism is inherent in free enterprise. Most Americans know that in a country like ours any one of us, shuttled to another part of America, might become a member of a minority. And such an American with vision, knows that when he protects the rights of any other citizen of his country he is protecting his own rights.

And so, fortunately, the fascists do not have things their own way, even though they do have amazing opportunities in this country. There are, fortunately, individuals and groups who are actively engaged in fighting the democratic fight, as there are others who are fighting the selfish, grasping fascist fight.

Unfortunately, their voices are not always strong and not easily heard. The voice of true democracy does not always carry as far as the voice of reaction. And, one of the things we must also remember is that the fascist takes advantage of every reactionary opinion, every printed reactionary statement.

When John E. Rankin speaks in the House of Representatives he may speak only in the voice of reaction, but he employs a sounding board that booms across the nation. When he fights such an obviously democratic measure as the permanent establishment of the FEPC, he raises a powerful voice which every anti-Negro group echoes and re-echoes. When he dares, in the halls of Congress, to attack an American citizen as a "kike," he gives tongue to the kind of un-Americanism which the outright fascists hear gleefully and repeat zestfully.

Senator Theodore Bilbo, of Mississippi, said, on the floor of the Senate in May, 1945, "If the FEPC bill, as drafted by Mrs. Norton of the House of Representatives, is passed and an attempt is made to enforce it in the South, there will be a revolution."

How eagerly the Klan must have spread that news! What ammunition for the white supremacy masters to use in their fight against the Negro! How easily this can be twisted to strike fear into the hearts of Southerners who may be well disposed toward the FEPC, but who will cringe at the very word "revolution." And how it can be extended to an argument against all progressive legislation, against labor and against true democracy!

When powerful newspapers, such as the New York *Daily News*, the *Chicago Tribune* and the Washington *Times-Herald* speak, their voice may be only the voice of reaction, but when they blamed Roosevelt and, indirectly, his whole administration, for having taken us to war, when they lashed out against America's allies in the war, when they either openly or covertly attack labor, they become a voice which fascism likes to echo. And against the voice of reaction, against the voice to which the fascists give a whispered "yea," there are only a few powerful voices raised in opposition.

One of the strongest, one of the voices that has most consistently and courageously exposed and scourged the fascists, is that of Walter Winchell. Winchell has taken a unique place in American journalism. Early in the 1930's, when fascism was nothing more than a foreign-sounding name to most Americans, he was one of the few who recognized its danger.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

by *Gerald L. K. Smith*

PITCHED CARLSON OUT

On September 29, I was in New York City. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon I held a press conference at which representatives of all the New York newspapers were invited. The conference was well attended and all the leading news agencies and newspapers were represented.

After the conference had been in progress for about ten minutes, I recognized a familiar face. It was the face of a man sitting on the window sill. After a moment's reflection, I concluded that it was the fake author who sometimes goes by the name of John Roy Carlson, Carlson, who has five or six aliases, is the foreign born, pro-communist who wrote the book "Under Cover." This is the book that has been touted and blown up by Walter Winchell, the radio character assassin. It lists hundreds of good American nationalists in an attempt to smear their patriotism and brand them as traitors to their country.

Walter Winchell's hard-hitting attacks have made him the most feared man in America by the "time bomb" elements of the country. His praise of UNDER COVER had drawn it to the attention of thousands of Americans who thus became acquainted with fascist subversive activity in this country. In this issue of The Cross and the Flag, Gerald L. K. Smith makes a feeble and futile attempt to discredit Carlson, and indirectly Walter Winchell.

A successful columnist who had built up a wide following by reporting Broadway, Hollywood, movie and theatre news, he turned in 1933 to a new kind of reporting. He began then to fight Hitlerism and to warn America of the onslaught being prepared by the Axis.

As war came nearer, he began more and more to expose the groups in America which were fighting Hitler's battle here. His attacks on Fritz Kuhn, the German-American Bund, their satellites, and organizations which helped them, are memorable for their vigor and effectiveness.

He urged and of course still urges Americans to buy books which expose fascist activities, lifting such titles as *Under Cover* and *Sabotage* into the best-seller lists overnight. His column in the newspapers has been employed in his own exposure of fascist elements and nothing has delighted him so much as the frequent scoops which have brought subversive elements to light and held them up to the anger of the American public.

He has been an especially able spokesman on the side of American democracy because he reaches the largest audience ever attained by a single individual. His combined newspaper circulation is estimated as high as 25 million. His broadcasts have also been estimated to reach as many as 25 million. And while there is undoubtedly some overlapping, it is another hopeful sign that there are so many millions of Americans whose anti-fascism is so strong and so steady.

There are other commentators, such as Drew Pearson who also has a radio broadcast and a daily column, who takes pains and time to reveal fascist tendencies. Pearson, who devotes himself to political commentaries, has done much to expose the political side of the fascist trend.

It is interesting to note here that both Walter Winchell's column and Drew Pearson's appear in the Hearst newspapers, which editorially have not been notable for their assistance to progressive thinking, which as late as 1936 and 1937 featured by-line stories by Dr. Joseph Paul Goebbels and Benito Mussolini and which, at this writing, still employ red-baiting Karl von Weigand as a correspondent in fascist Madrid.

Johannes Steel has done a fearless and extremely capable job—not only in exposing dangerous individuals and groups within the country, but also in showing up trends which might have developed into danger.

As a news commentator his analyses have been extremely valuable. For, in the pre-war and war years, the fascists and undemocratic forces throughout the world made strong efforts to twist the news in such a way as to destroy allied unity. Even today there is a crucial problem inherent in the presentation of news and in the people's understanding of it. If the world can be divided again, as it was after World War I, the fascists can easily win the peace—and perhaps the next war. Johannes Steel has consistently contributed to the building up of world understanding and unity.

Other radio commentators who lift their voices in defense of democracy and who are able fighters against fascist and subversive groups are Dr. Frank Kingdon and William S. Gailmor, each of whom has done much to expose and beat back attacks on American democracy.

Fortunately, there is also a large section of the daily press which has ably worked to expose fascism. Magazine editors have, during the past ten years frequently run exposés of fascist groups. Throughout the country there are papers which are notable for their reportorial and editorial attacks on fascism.

There are also a number of organizations throughout the country which either help to defend America against fascism or openly combat native fascism. Their activities, too, take many forms. Some of them are interested primarily in the protection of minority rights. Some of them, like the Civil Liberties Union, are long-established organizations which are interested in the protection of civil rights generally. Some of them have come into being as positive action groups for democracy, organized specifically to combat the rising threat of fascism in the past few years.

Unfortunately, such organizations—simply because much of their work is defensive—do not obtain as much publicity as offensive organizations. Defense never makes such good news. But, it would be well for every American citizen who is inter-

ested in maintaining a democratic America to know about a number of these, and whenever he can, to cooperate with them. Fascism is not a force which is going to be stamped out simply by the revelation of its existence. We have been witnesses to the fact that if it is allowed to grow, the force necessary to defeat it may have to be huge and almost overwhelming. We have witnessed the fact that armies of men and women must work and fight and often die to defeat fascism when it becomes strong.

In the United States we now have the unparalleled opportunity and the advantage of being able to complete the destruction of fascism and all its manifestations in our own country because we have already sacrificed so much to fight it on other fronts.

Some of the organizations which offer these opportunities will be discussed in the following paragraphs. There are doubtless many others which have not come to the attention of this writer, but which can be discovered in almost every community by anybody who wishes to find them.

The Friends of Democracy, Inc., which has offices at 137 E. 57th Street in New York City, and which maintains offices in a number of the larger cities throughout the country, has been in the forefront of the groups fighting fascism. It has collected an enormous amount of information about the outfits which threaten democracy, and it has made such information available to newspapers and other informational sources. It publishes a regular bulletin which keeps its readers informed about subversive activities and what the Friends of Democracy itself is doing to combat such activities.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai Brith, with offices at 212 Fifth Avenue, New York City, also maintains offices in a number of the large cities throughout the country. This organization has been one of the most potent forces in America for combating every kind of subversive and disruptionist activity. Its work is educational. It points out that anti-Semitism is un-American; and the very fact that almost every fascist-minded individual and group relies on anti-Semitism as an important part of its program has put the Anti-Defamation

League in the vanguard of those actively fighting fascism in every form. The League has exposed anti-Semitism, and where anti-labor propaganda or anti-Negro propaganda or any anti-American propaganda rides along with anti-Semitism, the League has exposed that, too.

Many non-Jewish Americans have been incensed when they have been subjected to reading or listening to anti-Semitism. Hundreds of thousands of non-Jewish Americans have felt that this was dangerous and un-American, but have never translated their indignation into more positive terms because they have not known exactly what to do about it. By bringing such instances to the attention of the Anti-Defamation, League, they can help to combat fascism in America.

The Union for Democratic Action, at 9 E. 46th Street, New York City, also has branches in principal cities throughout the country. This committee has taken definite steps for democratic action by holding protest meetings against fascist tendencies, and it also works to promote democracy by sending out literature to combat threats to our democratic way of life.

The Institute for American Democracy, at 369 Lexington Avenue, New York City, has a very interesting program. This committee, realizing the power of advertising in America has perfected an idea whereby advertisements sponsoring democracy can be run in newspapers, on car cards and on outdoor advertising signs, sponsored by merchants, civic or fraternal groups or even individuals. The Institute's poster campaign has been very effective in promoting advertisements which state the simple fact that every American, regardless of his name, his color or his religion, is an American.

The National CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination, which has offices at 718 Jackson Place N. W., Washington, D. C., has been formed recently. It has been active throughout the country, however, in fighting discrimination in employment or even in social relationships. It not only supports the FEPC, but it also has been active in cases where no union issue is involved but where discrimination is.

The Civil Liberties Union, with headquarters in New York, is, of course, well known. Its principle is that American civil lib-

erties must be protected wherever threatened, and it has often come into cases either in defense, or as a friend of the court, to protect civil liberties.

Freedom House, Inc., at 5 West 54th Street, New York City, is a newer organization which promises to do good work in promoting democracy. Up to the present time its major activity has been to sponsor radio programs, lectures, etc.

There are several organizations which work for the protection of Negro civil rights and which combat anti-Negro trends and outbreaks in every part of the country, particularly, of course, in the worst areas in the South. These include the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Negro Congress, and several others.

Other groups which have democratic programs are: National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, 205 E. 42nd Street, New York City, which has been most active in fighting threats to constitutional rights; the National Conference of Christians and Jews, an interracial organization whose work is primarily to stamp out racial or religious bias; The Council for Democracy in America, at 11 W. 42nd Street in New York City, which promotes interracial, inter-religious groups and projects democratic activity among groups; The Urban League of Greater New York, at 202 W. 136th Street in New York, which is interested in promoting better Negro-white relations; The American Council on Race Relations, at 32 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, which is also devoted to improving race relations and has made many valuable racial studies and established community groups for promoting racial accord; and The American Jewish Committee, at 386 Fourth Avenue, New York which also combats racial prejudice.

The Catholic Inter-Racial Council, at 20 Vesey Street, New York, has done a splendid job not only in combating racial antagonisms, but also in combating Ku Klux Klan ideas, discrimination in industry, and, in those few cases where it showed itself, discrimination in the armed forces. This organization runs inter-racial forums and publishes the *Inter-Racial Review*, which is highly influential.

There is a special appendix in this book which lists a num-

ber of other similar organizations. Most of these have been formed since the disgraceful incidents at Beaumont, Mobile and Detroit in 1943. Although they have not all been organized long, every one of them is promoting democracy, and since they are located in many towns and cities throughout the country, their facilities and their coöperation are available to Americans in almost every part of the United States.

In a book which has listed so many dangerous disruptive organizations and individuals it is heartening that such a long list of groups fighting for democracy can be included. But, let us not delude ourselves with the idea that these represent strength enough to combat the menace of fascism. One fascist outfit in one hour can spawn enough leaflets and disruptive propaganda to give fifty such democratic organizations a year's work. Because the fascists have been preparing for so long, because they have so cleverly used prejudice to set group against group, because it must be admitted that race and religious prejudice does exist and can grow in America, we cannot underestimate this ever-present danger. The total number of people to which the literature of the organizations named here can be made available is not a fraction of the total number to which the fascists can easily obtain access.

The fact that organizations to fight for democracy exist is heartening. But not more than that. They will not represent a complete safeguard against the undemocratic disruptionist forces until they have the actual and true support of the overwhelming majority of Americans.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

IT is a hopeful sign that there are so many organizations in the United States which are dedicated to thwarting the fascists and building up the strength of democracy.

But it is not much more than a hopeful sign. For the existence of organizations which uphold minority and civil rights does not, in itself, constitute protection of those rights. The existence of organizations which help to protect democracy does not, in itself, guarantee the protection of democracy. The strength of these anti-fascist organizations is obviously not great enough to combat the fascists successfully and stamp them out. It is not even great enough to stunt the growth of the fascist outfits.

Nor does the existence of organizations and individuals which expose fascism give us assurance that, once exposed, fascists are thereupon rendered harmless. It is not that easy.

Moreover the fringe forces, those of disunity and disruption, are even more hardy. Exposing them to the glare of publicity does not automatically, as some might suppose, wither and shrivel them. Indeed, sometimes it even helps them to grow. For the fact is that they do have a following, there are people in America, thousands and thousands of them, who

are ideologically attracted to the minority-haters, the labor-baiters, the red-baiters, the disruptionists. And when publicity is centered upon individuals or fringe groups of this character, it is just as likely as not to attract to them thousands of new followers who admire their ideas and tactics.

In Washington thirty-three individuals were indicted on charges of alleged sedition. They were placed on trial and in one of the most curious and protracted trials in recent history, many of the defendants attempted to use the court as a soap box, and at times almost made a field day of the whole proceedings. When the judge who was sitting in the case died while it was still dragging on, a mistrial was declared. Up to this writing a new trial has not been called, but the defendants are still under indictment.

What of their actions since then? Did the publicity of the trial halt their activities? Or curtail them? This book is the answer. You have read about some of them. Most of them are still engaged in the same time-bomb activities.

Despite the organizational and the personal fight against the forces of disruption and disunity, they continue to grow. Despite the exposés, and the revelations of their activity, they continue to scheme, to propagandize, to undermine American democracy. And they are a greater danger today than they have been during all the past war years when the tremendous national effort of defeating fascism abroad temporarily held back the disruptionists at home.

Why have they grown? Why do they grow? Why do they attract followers? Why do they attract funds, huge funds—and support, powerful support?

Simply because most of us forget the sterling truism that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. It is as easy as that. We remember it as a statement and forget it as a course of action—even though no generation in the history of mankind has more reason to remember it. No generation in history has ever paid so high a price, in blood and sweat and tears, for forgetting it.

For those of us who want to be sure that it is not forgotten

again, for those of us who prefer to exercise the wisdom of beating fascism in America before it has a chance to sweep away our liberties, there is a sound course of action.

Obviously it is advisable to support those organizations, individuals, newspapers, magazines and groups which fight fascism. Anyone who wishes to undertake a part in this fight can, of course, find a place or a role, or can lend support to one of the organizations mentioned in the previous chapter or listed in the appendix to this book.

Obviously, too, there is much to be accomplished politically. Even today, when the average American finds it difficult to feel that he actually participates effectually in elections, he can bring his influence to bear in most congressional districts and in most states. The results in the election of 1944 demonstrate that representatives and senators, even powerful ones, can be replaced.

Representative Fish and Senator Nye, for instance, long entrenched, were replaced. Both had been active in America First activities and had identified themselves with suspect groups.

And even when a representative or senator cannot be retired, the "letter to Congress," butt of jokes though it is, does have some influence. Proof of that lies in how often the disruptionist and diversive elements have used it.

Apart from these obvious measures there is much that can be done. The soundest foundation for democracy is an understanding of it and a complete acceptance of it by the citizens who live in it.

In almost every locality in America there are instances of undemocratic thinking, there are examples of undemocratic action. And because of that, in every locality in America there should be some force for positive democratic action.

The community in which the writer lives is an especially favored one from a democratic point of view. It is in a section where civil liberties are well protected, where the general community is well disposed toward minority groups and intelligent about recognizing the danger of fascism. It is in Westchester County in the state of New York, which has the

distinction of being the first state in the union to pass a fair employment practices law.

Yet, even in this community there were instances which alarmed some of its citizens and recently a local group decided to take steps toward the active promotion of democratic principles. They formed an association called The Chappaqua Community Council. Part of the preamble to its constitution reads:

"Many communities are marred by the existence of undemocratic prejudices based on differences in economic status, nationality, religion or race. Such things are, of course, completely foreign to our American democratic way of life. Such things are, unfortunately, dangers from which our own community is not free.

"Ours is a good community. It has exceptional advantages—natural physical beauty, favorable climate, nearness to the world's largest city. But there has crept into our midst, in the insidious way in which all prejudices start, snobbery, aloofness and a false feeling of superiority. Fortunately, these prejudices are not universal. We believe that the overwhelming feeling in the community is to the contrary. Still, these prejudices are here and have already manifested themselves, and, if unchecked, could become the generally accepted attitude and do irreparable harm to our community. Deploring the situation later is not nearly as sensible as making it impossible now.

"Perhaps it is because we do not know each other well enough that these things have happened. It is not enough simply to live in the same neighborhood. Geographical proximity, standing alone, is a meaningless thing. It should lead to social and cultural intercourse on a community scale, to exchange of opinion on all matters of public interest and concern.

"Other organizations have attempted to accomplish some of these purposes. We are anxious to cooperate with them and support them in any worthwhile endeavor. At the same time, we feel that a new organization is necessary to instill in the community a progressive, forward-looking democratic spirit. We want to meet together for entertainment, for culture, and for political activity without respect to political parties.

"We are free Americans. Our armies are now en-

gaged in a bitter struggle to free the world from tyranny, so that we may become part of a free world. Our own community, a very small part of this free America we all love and want to preserve, is important to us who live here. Let us make it a better community, a community which will be a model for others, a community of which we will be proud, a community in which democracy lives and grows."

This council, in a short time, made its influence felt in the community. It has invited speakers to discuss world events, to lecture to it on world fascism and native fascism, it has had discussion groups on American democracy. It has taken part in town activities.

Its members are average Americans; business men, housewives, editors, a farmer, an accountant, an artist, representative members of the community. They have stimulated themselves, their own interest in combating un-American activities and have helped to improve their community by meeting and talking and acting together.

This same kind of group can easily be formed in almost every community. Enough of them would provide the kind of education and the kind of thinking which will make it impossible for the fascists, the near-fascists and the fringe-fascists to grow.

I do not mean to imply by this that education alone, or knowledge of fascist movements, will stifle all fascist growth in America. There are other, and deeper, factors involved in the growth of fascism.

We have already observed that those who promote fascism also promote dissidence. If Americans are economically secure, if they can feel that they are participants in a democracy which they understand and appreciate, fascist propaganda is unlikely to interest them at all. In that case the promotion of fascist principles would interest only those who wish to enslave their fellowmen, and free Americans would reject it utterly.

The followers of fascism in other countries have already learned that it is a tinsel thing. It benefits only those at the

top. But it is the nature of people to seek quick and easy solutions to the most baffling problems, to welcome any relief when hard-pressed, to grasp at bright promises in the hope that they can be fulfilled.

Living in the kind of security which free, democratic America can easily provide there would be no reason for Americans to grasp at catch-penny promises. But there would be, for every one of us, even greater reason than we have now, to maintain American democracy. There is, fortunately, a growing belief among Americans that we must all enjoy our way of life if any of us is to enjoy it. There is an understanding among Americans that we are one people and that all of us can live together well and secure and free. There is a strong will for unity in America, which is a fortunate thing for us and a shield against the fascists.

For a united America, firm in the conviction that democracy will work, firm in the determination to make it work, will offer no encouragement to fascist thought and certainly no room for fascist growth.

APPENDIX

A LIST OF COMMITTEES AND ORGANIZATIONS WHOSE WORK UPHOLDS THE TRADITION OF DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

American Conference for Racial and National Unity

Headquarters: 16 East 41st St., New York 17, New York.

Officer: Arthur Upham Pope, chairman.

*Commission on the Church and Minority Peoples**

Headquarters: 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

Officers: Will W. Alexander, chairman; Bradford S. Abernathy, director.

*National CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination**

Headquarters: 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Officers: James B. Carey, chairman; George L-P Weaver, director.

National Federation of the Committee on Racial Equality

Headquarters: 2929 Broadway, New York, New York.

Officers: James L. Farmer, Jr., chairman.

*National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee**

Headquarters: 1410 H Street, N. W., Washington 5, D. C.

Officers: Senators Arthur Capper and Robert F. Wagner, co-chairman; Mrs. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, executive secretary.

*Institute for American Democracy, Inc.**

Headquarters: 369 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, New York.

Officers: The Rev. William C. Kernan, executive director; Richard A. Zinn, public relations director.

*Race Relations Committee of the American Friends Service Committee**

Headquarters: 20 South Twelfth St., Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

Officers: Mercer Bergstrom, secretary.

*Japanese-American Citizens League**

Headquarters: 413 Beason Building, Salt Lake City 1, Utah.

Officers: Saburo Kido, president; Corporal Mike Masaoka, secretary and field executive (on leave with U. S. Army).

*League for Fair Play**

Headquarters: 11 West 42nd Street, New York 18, New York.

Officers: Dr. Alvin S. Johnson, president; Robert Norton, executive secretary.

*Union for Democratic Action**

Headquarters: 9 East 46th Street, New York 17, New York.

Officers: Reinhold Niebuhr, chairman; James Loeb, Jr., executive secretary.

American Council on Race Relations

Headquarters: 32 West Randolph Street, Chicago 1, Illinois.

Officers: Clarence E. Pickett, president; Mary-Jane Grunsfield, secretary.

REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

*Southern Regional Council, Inc.**

Headquarters: Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Officers: Dr. Howard W. Odum, chairman; Dr. Guy B. Johnson, executive director.

Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play

Headquarters: 465 California Street, San Francisco, California.

* The organizations and committees thus designated have submitted reports to the office of the Social Science Institute of Fisk University.

Officers: Maurice Harrison, chairman; Dr. Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Jr., secretary.

STATE COMMITTEES

CALIFORNIA

State Inter-Racial Council (Governor's committee)

Headquarters: 714 West Olympic Boulevard, Los Angeles 2, California.

Officers: Bishop Joseph T. McGucken, chairman; Dr. George E. Gleason, secretary.

*California CIO Minorities Committee**
Headquarters: CIO Building, San Francisco 2, California.

Officers: Revels Cayton, director; Matt Crawford, assistant director.

CONNECTICUT

Connecticut Inter-Racial Commission (Governor's committee)*

Headquarters: State Office Building, Hartford, Connecticut.

Officers: Rt. Rev. Walter H. Gray, chairman; Rev. Joseph M. Griffen, secretary.

ILLINOIS

Inter-Racial Commission for Illinois (Governor's committee)

Headquarters: 19 South LaSalle St., Chicago, Illinois.

Officers: Dr. Martin Hayes Bickham, chairman; Leon A. Bailey, executive director.

KENTUCKY

Kentucky Inter-Racial Commission

Headquarters: Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Lexington Road, Louisville, Kentucky.

Officer: Dr. Edward A. McDowell, Jr., chairman.

MASSACHUSETTS

*Governor's Committee for Racial and Religious Understanding**

Headquarters: 200 Newbury Street, Boston 16, Massachusetts.

Officers: Julius E. Warren, chairman;

Mrs. Mildred H. Mahoney, executive secretary.

*Massachusetts Citizens' Committee for Racial Unity**

Headquarters: Room 822, 294 Washington Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Officers: William F. Billingsley, chairman; Mrs. Anne Reid, secretary.

MINNESOTA

*Governor's Interracial Commission**

Headquarters: 2200 Grand Avenue, St. Paul 1, Minnesota.

Officers: Rev. Francis J. Gilligan, chairman; Talmadge B. Carey, secretary.

MISSISSIPPI

*Mississippi Council on Interracial Cooperation**

Headquarters: Corner Clay and Monroe Streets, Vicksburg, Mississippi.

Officer: F. C. Willcoxon, chairman.

NEW JERSEY

*Good-Will Commission** (Appointed by the State Legislature)

Headquarters: 1060 Broad Street, Newark 2, New Jersey.

Officers: H. B. Bell, chairman; Myra A. Blakeslee, executive director.

New Jersey Urban Colored Population Commission

Headquarters: 1060 Broad Street, Newark 2, New Jersey.

Officer: William Galloway, chairman.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pennsylvania State Temporary Commission on Conditions of Urban Colored Population. (Appointed by the State Legislature)

Headquarters: 524-26 South Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia 46, Pa.

Officers: E. Washington Rhodes, chairman; Laurence Foster, executive director.

TEXAS

*Good Neighbor Commission of Texas** (Governor's committee)

Headquarters: State Capitol, Austin, Texas.

Officers: R. E. Smith, chairman; Miss Pauline Kibbe, executive secretary.

VIRGINIA

Virginia Commission on Interracial Cooperation

Headquarters: 109 N. Jefferson Street, Richmond, Virginia.

Officer: Dr. Thomas C. Allen, director.

WEST VIRGINIA

West Virginia Interracial Commission (Governor's committee)

Headquarters: Executive Department, State of West Virginia, Charleston, West Virginia.

Officer: Dr. Carl Frasure, chairman.

LOCAL COMMITTEES

ALABAMA, MONTGOMERY

*Montgomery Interracial Committee**

Headquarters: St. Mark's Methodist Church, Corner Perry and Noble Streets, Montgomery 6, Alabama.

Officers: W. B. DeLemos, chairman; Rev. F. E. Churchill, secretary.

CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Berkeley Interracial Committee

Headquarters: 2707½ Virginia Street, Berkeley 4, California.

Officers: Dr. Edward C. Tolman, chairman; Mrs. Jean S. Koven, executive secretary.

CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

Los Angeles Committee for Home Front Unity (Mayor's committee)

Headquarters: Office of Mayor, City Hall, Los Angeles 12, California.

Officer: Edmund W. Cooke, executive secretary.

Council for Civic Unity

Headquarters: 215 West Seventh Street, Los Angeles 14, California.

Officers: Dr. E. C. Farnham, chairman; Everett Wile, executive secretary.

*Los Angeles County Committee for Interracial Progress** (Appointed by Board of Supervisors)

Headquarters: 139 North Broadway, Los Angeles 12, California.

Officers: B. O. Miller, chairman; George Gleason, executive secretary.

Citizens' Committee for Latin-American Youth (Appointed by Board of Supervisors)

Headquarters: 139 North Broadway, Los Angeles 12, California.

Officers: Manuel Ruiz, Jr., chairman; Stephen J. Keating, executive secretary.

Community Relations Committee of the Los Angeles Council of Social Agencies

Headquarters: Room 388, Chamber of Commerce Building, Los Angeles 15, California.

Officers: Mrs. Joseph Kaplan, chairman; Mrs. Arnoldine Lindsay, secretary.

Southern California Council of Inter-American Affairs

Headquarters: 707 Auditorium Building, Fifth and Olive Streets, Los Angeles 13, California.

Officers: W. S. Rosecrans, president; Ray-G. McKelvey, executive secretary.

Urban League Leadership Round Table

Headquarters: 2510 South Central Avenue, Los Angeles 11, California.

Officer: Floyd C. Covington, chairman.

Citizens' Emergency Committee

Headquarters: Los Angeles NAACP office, 1105 E. Vernon Avenue, Los Angeles 11, California.

Officers: Rev. Jonathan L. Gaston, chairman; Thomas Lee Griffith, Jr., executive director.

CALIFORNIA, MONROVIA

Monrovia Interracial Committee

Headquarters: 239 Stedman Place, Monrovia, California.

Officer: Rev. George West Barrett, temporary chairman.

CALIFORNIA, OAKLAND

CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination

Headquarters: 92 Seventh Street, Oakland, California.

Officer: Paul Heide, secretary-treasurer.

CALIFORNIA, PASADENA

Pasadena Leadership Round Table

Headquarters: 490 Highland Street, Pasadena 6, California.

Officers: Walt A. Riatt, chairman;
Barney M. Durham, secretary.
Interracial Commission of the Pasadena Council of Social Agencies
Headquarters: 25 South Euclid Avenue, Pasadena 1, California.
Officers: Dr. Eugene C. Blake, chairman; H. A. Wilbur, secretary.

CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

San Diego Race Relations Society
Headquarters: 3722 32nd Street, San Diego, California.
Officers: Dennis V. Allen, chairman; Mrs. Nan Ohlson, corresponding secretary.

CALIFORNIA, SAN FRANCISCO

*Bay Area Council Against Discrimination**
Headquarters: 365 Mills Building, San Francisco 4, California.
Officers: Walter A. Gordon, chairman; David F. Selvin, executive secretary.

COLORADO, DENVER

Adult Committee on Delinquency
Headquarters: Office of Manager of Safety, Denver, Colorado.
Officer: Juan Noriega, chairman.

CONNECTICUT, BRIDGEPORT

*Bridgeport Committee on Unity, Freedom and Friendship**
Headquarters: 360 State St., Bridgeport 4, Connecticut.
Officers: Rev. Fred Hoskins, president; Mrs. Clara M. Stern, secretary.

CONNECTICUT, HARTFORD

*Interracial Committee** (Mayor's committee)
Headquarters: Municipal Building, Hartford 4, Connecticut.
Officers: Harry H. Kleinman, chairman; Rev. Robert A. Moody, secretary.

CONNECTICUT, NEW HAVEN

The Dixwell Group
Headquarters: Dwight Hall, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
Officers: Edward Manice and Miss Suzanne Stanford, co-chairmen,

Miss Emma Mitchell, secretary.

CONNECTICUT, WATERBURY

Unity and Amity Committee (Mayor's committee)

Headquarters: Office of Mayor, Municipal Building, Waterbury, Connecticut.

Officers: Rev. Francis O. Ayers, chairman.

*Pearl Street Neighborhood House Interracial Committee**

Headquarters: Pearl Street Neighborhood House, Corner Pearl and Hopkins Streets, Waterbury 25, Connecticut.

Officers: Dr. John C. Walker, Rev. Jonathan E. Reed, co-chairmen, Herbert S. Smith, secretary.

Better Race Relations Committee

(Temporarily organized to work for the appointment of Negroes to the police force. It functioned from April to July, 1943.)

ILLINOIS, CHICAGO

*Mayor's Committee on Race Relations**

Headquarters: 137 North LaSalle Street, Chicago 2, Illinois.

Officers: Edwin R. Embree, chairman; Robert C. Weaver, executive director.

*Conference Against Racial and Religious Discrimination**

Headquarters: Room 812, 166 W. Jackson Boulevard, Chicago 4, Illinois.

Officers: Dr. Preston Bradley, chairman; Dr. Homer A. Jack, executive secretary.

Interracial Committee of Chicago Church Federation

Headquarters: 719 N. Wabash, Chicago, Illinois.

Officers: Edward Foss Wilson and Rt. Rev. Bernard J. Shield, co-chairman.

CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination

Headquarters: 205 West Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

Officer: Francis J. DeLaurie, secretary-treasurer.

Southside Chicago Neighborhood Discussion Group

Headquarters: 10127 Vernon Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois.

Officers: Carl C. Marshall, organizer;
Godfrey Stanius, leader.

South Central Chamber of Commerce

Headquarters: Parkway Community
House, 5120 South Parkway, Chi-
cago, Illinois.

Officer: Melville J. Kolliner, tempo-
rary chairman.

ILLINOIS, OAK PARK

*Neighborhood Discussion Group**

Headquarters: Assembly Hall, South
Branch Public Library, Corner Har-
rison and Gunderson Avenue, Oak
Park, Illinois.

Leader and Organizer: Carl C. Mar-
shall.

ILLINOIS, ROCKFORD

*Rockford Interracial Commission**

Headquarters: 225 South Second
Street, Rockford, Illinois.

Officer: Rev. Russell Wharton Lam-
bert, chairman.

INDIANA, FORT WAYNE

*Fort Wayne Interracial Commission**

Headquarters: 436-38 E. Douglas
Avenue, Fort Wayne 2, Indiana.

Officers: Miss Lavon Sperry, president;
John E. Ridley, executive secretary.

*Ways and Means Committee, Fort
Wayne Board of Governing War-
dens (Mayor's committee)*

Headquarters: Citizens Trust Build-
ing, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Officer: Carl J. Suedhoff, chairman.

*Ways and Means Committee, Munici-
pal Defense Council (Mayor's Com-
mittee)*

Headquarters: People's Trust and
Savings Bank, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Officer: D. P. McDonald, chairman.

*CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Dis-
crimination*

Headquarters: 227 Farmers Trust
Building, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Officer: George Grave, chairman.

IOWA, CEDAR RAPIDS

*CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Dis-
crimination*

Headquarters: 129 Third Street, Cedar
Rapids, Iowa.

Officer: Robert L. Olson, chairman.

IOWA, SIOUX CITY

*CIO Committee to Abolish Racial
Discrimination*

Headquarters: 313 Fifth Street, Sioux
City, Iowa.

Officer: M. C. Smith, chairman.

MARYLAND, BALTIMORE

*Mayor's Interracial Commission on
Housing*

Headquarters: Office of Mayor, City
Hall, Baltimore, Maryland.

Officer: Francis A. Davis, chairman.

Good-Will Committee

Headquarters: 827 N. Arlington Ave-
nue, Baltimore, Maryland.

Officers: Father Cedric Mills and J.
Bernard Wells, co-chairman.

Citizens' Committee for Justice

Headquarters: 639 N. Carey Street,
Baltimore, Maryland.

Officers: Dr. J. E. T. Camper and Carl
Murphy, co-chairman.

Unity for Victory Committee

Headquarters: 2404 Pennsylvania Ave-
nue, Baltimore, Maryland.

Officers: Harold Buchman, chairman;
J. Harvey Kerns, secretary.

(Outgrowth of the Committee for
Prevention and Control of Riots.)

MARYLAND, ELKTON

Interracial Committee of Elkton

Headquarters: 232 E. High Street,
Elkton, Maryland.

Officers: Dr. J. L. Johnson, chairman;
Charles C. Jacobs, executive direc-
tor.

MASSACHUSETTS, BOSTON

*Greater Boston Community Relations
Committee**

Headquarters: 70 State Street, 10th
Floor, Boston, Massachusetts.

Officer: Thomas H. Mahoney, chair-
man.

*Non-Partisan Civic Committee for
Racial Cooperation*

Headquarters: 43 Rutland Square,
Boston, Massachusetts.

Officers: Julian D. Steele and Dr. Frederick May Eliot, co-chairman.

MASSACHUSETTS, CAMBRIDGE

Community Relations Committee of Cambridge

Headquarters: 7 Temple Street, Cambridge 37, Massachusetts.

Officers: Mrs. Noyes Collinson, chairman; Miss Juanita J. Saddler, executive secretary.

MICHIGAN, DETROIT

*Interracial Committee** (Mayor's committee)

Headquarters: 305 W. Fort Street, Detroit 26, Michigan.

Officers: William J. Norton, chairman; Harold Thompson, director.

Union for Democratic Action Coalition Committee on Interracial Understanding in the Schools

Headquarters: 700 American Radiator Building, Detroit 26, Michigan.

Officer: Claire Sanders, chairman.

CIO Anti-Discrimination Committee

Headquarters: 2299 Monroe Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.

Officer: Leonard Smith, chairman.

Metropolitan Detroit Council on Fair Employment Practices

Headquarters: 906 Transportation Building, Detroit, Michigan.

Officers: Professor Edward W. McFarland, chairman; Clarence W. Anderson, executive secretary.

Union for Democratic Action

Headquarters: Apartment 102, 4762 Second Boulevard, Detroit, Michigan.

Officer: Andrew W. L. Brown, chairman.

Neighborhood Committee on Race Relations

Headquarters: Franklin Settlement, Detroit, Michigan.

Officers: Jack Asaro and O. J. Parrish, co-organizers.

CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination

Headquarters: 304 Hoffman Building, Detroit, Michigan.

Officer: Edgar Currie, chairman.

MICHIGAN, FLINT

Interracial Committee of Council of Church Women

Headquarters: 1419 Clifford Street, Flint, Michigan.

Officers: Mrs. R. R. Turpin, chairman.

MICHIGAN, JACKSON

CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination

Headquarters: 210 Francis Street, Jackson, Michigan.

Officer: La Verne W. Thompson, secretary.

MINNESOTA, ST. PAUL

*St. Paul Council of Human Relations** (Mayor's committee)

Headquarters: MacAlester College, St. Paul 5, Minnesota.

Officers: Dr. Charles J. Turck, chairman; Mrs. Irving Levy, secretary.

MISSISSIPPI, JONESTOWN

*Race Relations Committee of the Southern Crusaders**

Headquarters: Box 184, Jonestown, Mississippi.

Officer: J. H. McMillan, chairman.

MISSOURI, KANSAS CITY

Citizens' Interracial Committee (Mayor's Committee)

Headquarters: Room 301, YWCA Building, 1020 McGee Street, Kansas City, Missouri.

Officers: Arthur F. Weber, chairman; Owen Davidson, secretary.

CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination

Headquarters: 1311 Rialto Building, Kansas City, Missouri.

Officer: P. T. Moode, chairman.

MISSOURI, ST. LOUIS

*St. Louis Race Relations Commission** (Mayor's committee)

Headquarters: 301-302 Municipal Courts Building, 1300 Market Street, St. Louis 3, Missouri.

Officers: Edwin B. Meissner, chairman; Marie Reese, assistant secretary.

NEW JERSEY, ASBURY PARK

*Asbury Park Intercultural Committee**
Headquarters: Kinmonth Building,
Asbury Park, New Jersey.
Officers: Rev. Randall W. Conklin,
president; Charles Frankel, secre-
tary.

NEW JERSEY, ATLANTIC CITY

*Race Relations Committee of the At-
lantic City Chamber of Commerce**
Headquarters: 2306 Pacific Avenue,
Atlantic City, New Jersey.
Officer: C. W. Cain, chairman.

NEW JERSEY, BURLINGTON

*Burlington Interracial Committee**
Headquarters: Burlington, New Jer-
sey.
Officers: Richard Devereux, chairman;
J. Margaret Warner, secretary.

NEW JERSEY, JERSEY CITY

Council for Interracial Good-Will
Headquarters: Y.W.C.A., Jersey City,
New Jersey.
Officer: Miss Dorothy Clarke, chair-
man.

NEW JERSEY, NEWARK

*Citizens' Committee on Interracial
Unity*
Headquarters: 153 Court Street, New-
ark, New Jersey.
Officer: William R. Jackson, chairman.

NEW JERSEY, PASSAIC

*Passaic Community Welfare Commit-
tee (Mayor's committee)*
Headquarters: 160 High Street, Pas-
saic, New Jersey.
Officer: Dr. George O. Kirk, chairman.

NEW JERSEY, PATERSON

*Paterson Good-Will Committee**
Headquarters: 184 Market Street, Pat-
erson 1, New Jersey.
Officers: Rev. Ernest Ellwell, chair-
man; Charles H. Roemer, secretary.
*Committee for Perpetuating American
Ideals**
Headquarters: 105 Carroll Street, Pat-
erson 1, New Jersey.
Officers: Rev. Charles L. Tarter, chair-
man; Miss Clara L. Smith, secretary.

Paterson Interracial Commission

Headquarters: 267 Fair Street, Pater-
son 1, New Jersey.
Officer: Miss Anita Flynn, chairman.

NEW YORK CITY

*Mayor's Committee on Unity**

Headquarters: Room 705, Municipal
Building, Brooklyn 1, New York.
Officers: Charles E. Hughes, Jr., chair-
man; Dr. Dan W. Dodson, executor
director.

*New York Metropolitan Council on Fair Employment Practice**

Headquarters: 202-6 West 136th
Street, New York 30.
Officers: James H. Sheldon, chairman;
George E. DeMar, secretary.

CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Dis- crimination

Headquarters: 1133 Broadway, New
York City.
Officer: Noah Walter, chairman.

West Side Union for Democratic Action

Headquarters: 1 West 85th Street,
New York 24.
Officers: Arthur M. Loeb, chairman;
Mrs. Hazel L. Rice, secretary.

*City-Wide Citizens' Committee on Harlem**

Headquarters: 18 West 48th Street,
New York City.
Officers: Algernon D. Black and A.
Clayton Powell Sr., co-chairman;
Charles A. Collier, Jr., executive
secretary.

Citizens' Committee on Better Race Relations

Headquarters: 217 W. 125th Street,
New York City.
Officer: A. Philip Randolph, organ-
izer.

New York Race Relations Committee of the U. S. Student Assembly

Headquarters: 8 West 40th Street,
Board of Directors.

Officer: Mary Lou Rogers, chairman. Hunter College Interracial and Inter- faith Committee on Social Activities

Headquarters: Hunter College, New
York City.

Officer: Miss Marian Casey, director.
Manhattan Interracial Youth Council

Headquarters: 137 East 57th Street, New York City.

Officers: Bradford Chambers, chairman; Patricia Williams, executive secretary.

*Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces**

Headquarters: 1 West 125th Street, New York 27.

Officers: Wilfred H. Kerr, Richard Parrish and Alex Rose, co-chairman. Nancy G. MacDonald, secretary-treasurer.

Council for Americanism

Headquarters: 4290 Broadway, New York City.

Officer: Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., vice-president.

*Interracial Commission of Brooklyn**

Headquarters: Embury Methodist Church, 230 Decatur Street, Brooklyn 33, New York.

Officers: Rev. H. B. Warren and Rev. J. T. Ogburn, co-chairmen; Rev. J. Henry Carpenter, executive secretary.

Brooklyn Citizens' Committee for Racial and Religious Amity

Headquarters: Borough Hall, Brooklyn 2, New York.

Officer: Lloyd I. Herzska, secretary.

Anti-Racism Committee of New York

Headquarters: 144 Henry Street, Brooklyn 2, New York.

Officer: Herbert M. Chaimas, chairman.

*Bronx Conference for Racial and Religious Unity**

Headquarters: 2488 Grand Concourse, Bronx 58, New York.

Officers: Councilman Michael J. Quill, chairman; Katherine Earnshaw, executive secretary.

*Jamaica Interracial and Interfaith Committee**

Headquarters: P. O. Box 223, Jamaica 1, New York.

Officers: Mrs. Anthony Pisciotta, chairman; Mrs. Walter Larschan, corresponding secretary.

NEW YORK, ALBANY

Albany Citizens' Interracial Committee

Headquarters: 57 South Hawk Street, Albany, New York.

Officers: Lewis C. Bruce, chairman, Mrs. Joseph B. Robinson, chairman of committee on program and contacts.

Albany Interracial Council, Inc.

Headquarters: 122 Second Street, Albany, New York.

Officer: H. A. Seaver, president of Board of Directors.

NEW YORK, BINGHAMTON

Interracial Association of Binghamton, Inc.

Headquarters: 40 Kenwood Avenue, Binghamton, New York.

Officer: Miss Mattie G. William, executive secretary.

Catholic Interracial Guild

Headquarters: 205 Hawley Street, Binghamton, New York.

Officer: Miss Dorothy Hayes, president.

NEW YORK, BUFFALO

*Mayor's Committee on Community Relations**

Headquarters: Prudential Building, Buffalo 2, New York.

Officers: Hon. Charles B. Sears, chairman; William L. Evans, secretary.

Civil Liberties and Minority Groups Sub-Committee

Headquarters: Southside Branch, Y.W.C.A., Buffalo, New York.

Officer: Miss Gwendolyn E. Morgan, chairman.

NEW YORK, POUGHKEEPSIE

Interracial Group of Vassar College

Headquarters: 422 Main Hall, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York.

Officer: Miss Betty Brimberg, chairman.

NEW YORK, RICHMOND HILL

Citizens' Committee for Promotion of Interracial Understanding

Headquarters: 89-07 112 Street, Richmond Hill, New York.

Officer: Mrs. Edward Heller, chairman.

NEW YORK, ST. ALBANS

Citizens' Committee for Promotion of Interracial Understanding

Headquarters: 110-34 173rd Street, St. Albans, New York.

Officer: Mrs. Sadie Jefferson, chairman.

NEW YORK, SCHENECTADY

Citizens' Unity Committee

Headquarters: 110 Oxford Place, Schenectady 8, New York.

Officers: Dr. Burges Johnson, chairman; Joseph Czyzewski, secretary.

NEW YORK, SYRACUSE

Federation of Interracial Groups

Headquarters: 472 James Street, Syracuse 3, New York.

Officer: Dr. Robert E. Romig, chairman.

Syracuse Interracial Group

Headquarters: 561 Cedar St., Syracuse 3, New York.

Officer: Mrs. Louise B. Holly, secretary.

NORTH CAROLINA, GREENSBORO

Guilford County Interracial Committee

Headquarters: 1402 Washington Street, Greensboro, North Carolina.

Officers: Charles A. Hines, chairman; Mrs. Martha S. Gorleigh, secretary.

*Greensboro Intercollegiate Commission on Race Relations**

Headquarters: Guilford College, Guilford College, North Carolina.

Officers: Andrew Headen, president; Frances Walcott, secretary-treasurer.

OHIO, CINCINNATI

*Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee**

Headquarters: 1111 Keith Building, Cincinnati 2, Ohio.

Officers: Mayor James Garfield Stewart, chairman; Robert E. Segal, secretary.

Inter-Faith Race Relations Committee of Disciples of Christ

Headquarters: College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky.

Officers: Dr. Stephen Cory and Robert Segal, co-chairmen.

OHIO, COLUMBUS

*Columbus Council for Democracy**

Headquarters: Room 7, 9 East Long Street, Columbus 15, Ohio.

Officers: Ray S. Reinert, president, Board of Trustees; Marshall L. Scott, secretary.

OHIO, CLEVELAND

Committee on Democratic Practices (Mayor's committee)

Headquarters: Office of Mayor, City Hall, Cleveland, Ohio.

Officer: Rev. R. D. Sharpe, secretary.

OHIO, DAYTON

Dayton Committee on Interracial Justice and Goodwill (Mayor's committee)

Headquarters: 21-25 Davies Building, Dayton 2, Ohio.

Officer: Rev. Kemper G. McComb, secretary.

OHIO, TOLEDO

*Interracial Committee of Toledo** (Mayor's committee)

Headquarters: Textileather Corporation, Dayton Street, Toledo, Ohio.

Officers: C. Arthur Collin, president; Mrs. Frances B. Wade, secretary.

Citizens' Committee on Race Relations

Headquarters: Office of the Mayor, City Hall, Toledo.

Officers: Rev. Calvin K. Stalnaker and Mayor Lloyd E. Roulet, co-chairmen.

PENNSYLVANIA, ERIE

Interracial Committee

Headquarters: Booker T. Washington Center, 133 E. Third Street, Erie, Pennsylvania.

Officer: Miss Elsie Drew, secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA, HARRISBURG

Interracial Group

Headquarters: 1831 Market Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Officer: W. Justin Carter, chairman. *Harrisburg Service Council* (an Urban League affiliate)

Headquarters: 825 N. Sixth Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Officer: Henry R. Smith, Jr., chairman.

PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA

Mayor's Committee on Goodwill

Headquarters: 642 City Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Officers: Dr. Alexander J. Stoddard, chairman; Mrs. Francis R. Strawbridge, secretary.

City-Wide Interracial Committee (Established by request of State Commission on Urban Colored Population)

Headquarters: 305 Bankers Security Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Officers: Dr. Jacob Billikopf, chairman.

Council for Equal Job Opportunity

Headquarters: Room 923, 121 North Broad Street, Philadelphia 17, Pennsylvania.

Officer: Robert Parker, acting secretary.

*Catholic Interracial Council**

Headquarters: Gesu Girls' Parochial School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Officer: Mrs. Anna M. McGarry, temporary chairman.

*Germantown and Chestnut Hill Interracial Committee**

Headquarters: 34 West Duval Street, Germantown, Philadelphia 44, Pennsylvania.

Officers: Stanley R. Yarnall, chairman; Mrs. Olivia Y. Taylor, secretary.

*Interracial Discussion Group**

Headquarters: 4032 Spruce Street, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania.

Officers: Mrs. Nana P. Dunn, chairman; Joseph M. Gorelik, executive secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA, PITTSBURGH

Interracial Committee of Allegheny County

Headquarters: 14 Wood Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Officer: Edward O. Tabor, chairman.

Interracial Group Organization (Established by Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce)

Headquarters: 14 Wood Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Officer: Edward O. Tabor, chairman.

PENNSYLVANIA, LANCASTER

Lancaster Interracial Council

Headquarters: Willow Street, Route No. 1, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

Officer: Rev. N. W. Shollenberger, chairman.

SOUTH CAROLINA, CHARLESTON

*Bi-Racial Committee**

Headquarters: 56 Rutledge Avenue, Charleston, South Carolina.

Officer: C. O. Getty, chairman.

SOUTH CAROLINA, GREENWOOD

*Greenwood County Interracial Committee**

Headquarters: First Presbyterian Church, Greenwood, South Carolina.

Officer: Rev. Roswell C. Long, president.

SOUTH CAROLINA, ROCK HILL

*Rock Hill Council of Interracial Cooperation**

Headquarters: First Baptist Church, Rock Hill, South Carolina.

Officers: Rev. A. B. Hawkes, chairman; Rev. W. E. Houston, secretary.

SOUTH DAKOTA, SIOUX FALLS

Interracial Committee (Finally organized as a branch of NAACP)

Headquarters: 827 S. Dakota Avenue, Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

Officers: Benjamin Marquies, chairman.

TENNESSEE, KNOXVILLE

*Knoxville Interracial Commission**

Headquarters: Y.M.C.A., Cansler Branch, 208 E. Vine Avenue, Knoxville 15, Tennessee.

Officers: Dr. I. P. Martin, chairman; David N. Howell, secretary.

TENNESSEE, NASHVILLE

Committee on Human Relations

Headquarters: McKendree Methodist Church, Nashville, Tennessee.

Officers: Dr. King Vivion, chairman; Mrs. Charles S. Johnson, secretary.

TEXAS, DALLAS

Dallas Council on Human Relations

Headquarters: 3619 Princeton Avenue, Dallas, Texas.

Officer: Rev. Robert Raible, chairman.

TEXAS, HOUSTON

CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination

Headquarters: P. O. Box 799, Houston, Texas.

Officers: I. R. Gray, chairman.

TEXAS, SAN ANTONIO

*Texas County Committee for Interracial Cooperation**

Headquarters: 3305 West Ashby Street, San Antonio 1, Texas.

Officers: John C. Granberry, chairman; Mrs. K. R. Hemphill, acting secretary.

VIRGINIA, ARLINGTON

Interracial Commission of Arlington County

Headquarters: 2617 Columbia Pike, Arlington, Virginia.

Officers: Rev. P. Lee Falmore, chairman; Jesse R. Pollard, secretary.

VIRGINIA, ASHLAND

Hanover County Interracial Group

Headquarters: Ashland, Virginia.

Officer: Dr. J. P. McConnell, chairman.

VIRGINIA, CHARLOTTESVILLE

*Charlottesville Interracial Cooperation Commission**

Headquarters: 202 East High Street, Charlottesville, Virginia.

Officer: Dr. Frank M. Daniel, chairman.

WASHINGTON, SEATTLE

*Seattle Civic Unity Committee** (Mayor's Committee)

Headquarters: Pacific National Bank, Seattle 11, Washington.

Officers: George H. Greenwood, chairman; Miss Ann Madsen, secretary.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Citizens' Committee on Race Relations

Headquarters: 743 Investment Building, Washington, D. C.

Officer: Wilbur LaRoe, Jr., chairman.

CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination

Headquarters: 412 21st Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.

Officer: Charles S. Duke, chairman.

WEST VIRGINIA, CHARLESTON

*Four Freedoms Fellowship**

Headquarters: Box 653, Charleston 1, West Virginia.

Officers: Rev. B. W. Tinsley, president; Ervin Kampe, executive secretary.

WISCONSIN, MILWAUKEE

CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination

Headquarters: 631 West Reservoir Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Officer: Joseph Ellis, chairman.

TIME BOMB shows that, though a great war is being fought against foreign fascism, a greater and even more difficult war must now be fought against the explosive charges of fascism which have been sown in our own soil. It is the struggle of which Carl Sandburg spoke when he said, "After the strife of war begins the strife of peace."

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

E. A. Piller was formerly Book Editor and literary reviewer of *Liberty Magazine*, and before that an editor and book publisher.

TIME BOMB, for which the assistance of a research staff was engaged, is the result of investigations into widespread, constantly growing un-American activities. These were begun with the idea of producing a series of articles revealing many phases of pro-fascist activity, never before exposed, which constitute a major threat to American democracy.

As investigation developed, however, it became apparent that some of these "time bomb" activities and the people involved in them are so enmeshed that only a book could provide the scope necessary to reveal their background, the extent of their influence — and the danger they present.

Accordingly, Mr. Piller decided to forego the series of articles which would have taken some months to present, and to publish this material in book form as a means of warning America quickly — and placing it on guard against present danger of a fascist explosion.



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